

THE CONQUEROR COMES TO TEA



Also by John LaCerta

AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT JAPAN

(Published in Tokyo)

**THE CONQUEROR
COMES TO TEA**

Japan
Under MacArthur

By
John LaCerta

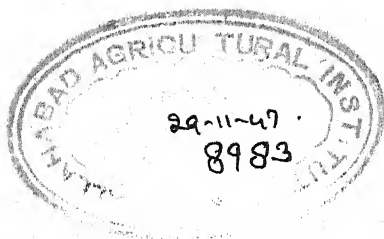
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Dedications

To my wife, who waited, and to Robert McLean
and Dwight S. Perrin, without whose favor
this book would not have been possible.



IT IS not for us here to meet, representing as we do a majority of the people of the earth, in a spirit of distrust, malice or hatred. But rather it is for us, both victor and vanquished, to rise to that higher integrity which alone benefits the sacred purpose we are about to serve . . .

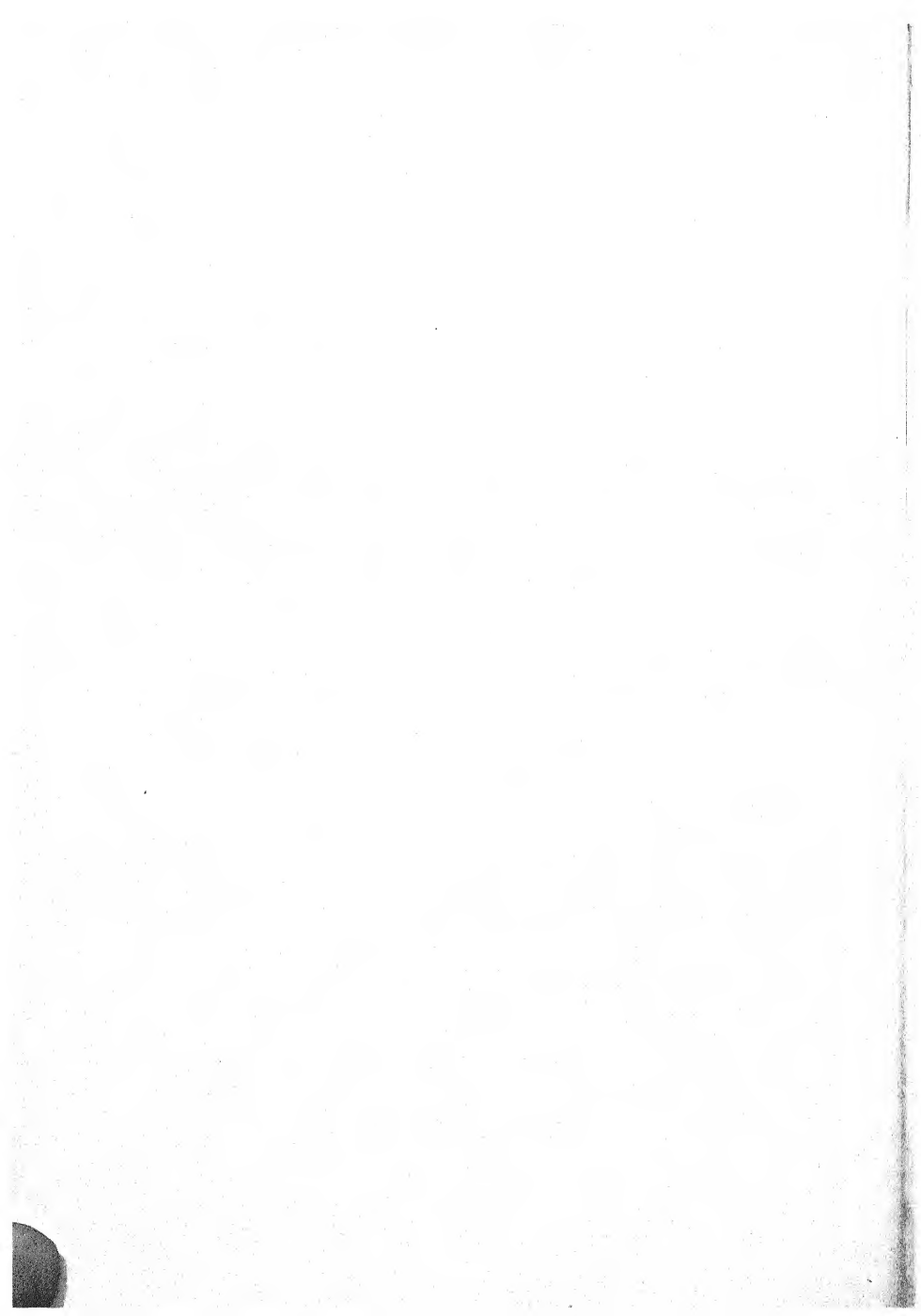
General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

Acknowledgments

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THE ENEMY CHANGETH

IT WILL shock a good many persons, but the stark reality is that the new Japan can become a friend and ally of the United States. She may one day be our first line of defense in the atomic war which men who despair over the greedy imperialism of nations fear is inevitable. It is up to us. The Japanese nation is today in a state of flux. The people are bewildered. The teachings and beliefs of centuries are dead or dying. The nation gropes, childlike, for something secure.

If we can successfully shape the clay to the pattern of democracy, we shall not regret the result. If we fail, then Japan will again become a festering sore spot. We appear to be succeeding. Step by step we have been drawing the nation out of the morass of feudalism.

True, there have been evasions of the two thousand directives which the Allies have charged the Japanese

government with enforcing. Many men with tainted backgrounds are yet to be purged from positions of influence. There is a desperate need for men of liberal mind to arise from among the Japanese masses. A disguised attachment to economic fascism is still there. But we are making progress.

As General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, chief architect for the redesigning of Japan, puts it, we are seeking, "while destroying Japan's war potential and exacting just penalties for past wrongs, to build a future for the people based upon considerations of realism and justice. Without yielding firmness, it has been my purpose to avoid oppressive or arbitrary action and to infuse into the hearts and minds of the Japanese people principles of liberty and right heretofore unknown to them . . . Peace, security and justice—this policy shall continue to be the aim."

The people of Japan generally admire the Americans. The oppressed little fellows who lived in a gray half-world of regimentation appreciate the hacksawing of the shackles. We have become a fad with them, just as we were in the decade after the black ships of Commodore Perry opened the gates to the island empire in 1853. Just as strongly as they like us the Japanese dislike the Russians. Communism is alien to the nationalistic Japanese mind. The Jap wants no part of it, even though the misery and privation upon which Communism ordinarily thrives are everywhere in the land. The Jap remembers, too, in assaying Communism, that Rus-

sia stabbed his country when she was down and the atomic bomb had burst upon her in full fury.

It is true that in Japan, especially in urban areas, the Communists are politically the most virile. They make the most noise. They have an advantage over other parties in that their leaders were imprisoned during the rule of the militarists and thus are free of the political blemish which has made thousands of other politicians ineligible for office. The Communists are determined to make the most of their opportunity. The issue appears to be sharply drawn—Communism or Anglo-Saxon democracy? We must not fail to use the advantage we hold in the operation of the laboratory from which will emerge a new nation.

Concerning Japan's future, we should maintain an occupation force for at least ten years. If our troops leave within three or five years, as has been indicated, and only civilian administrators remain, the old gang is certain to maneuver its way back to power. Without military intelligence and quick access to guns, we shall find underground movements difficult to detect and erase. A generation will be needed for full re-education of the people. It is from among the youth now in school that the enlightened leaders will come to represent the nation in the community of the world.

Japan stands to be stronger internally than ever before. Even the minimum economy which the exaction of reparations will bring should support a higher standard of living. Japan's military machine had been taking

seventy per cent of state expenditures. Now that those expenditures have been abolished there will be more available for the common good.

Under the old export economy most manufactured goods went abroad to be converted to dollar exchange for the purchase of war material. Now those manufactures can be used domestically. The reparations commission headed by Edwin W. Pauley recommended that Japan be exempted from paying continuing indemnity. It was a sensible recommendation, for it meant that Japan thus could be helped toward attaining an economic position in which all its people could make a living and not be a burden upon the world. Pauley recognized that democracy cannot flourish when stomachs and pocketbooks are empty.

Japan was once our enemy. She fought a bitter and fiendish war. Any apology for her former ways is an insult to the memory of Allied fighting men who lie in graves all across the Pacific. The appalling atrocities that were committed must not be forgotten. But as the occupation unfolds it becomes constantly more apparent that the crimes were committed in the blind cause of misguided Emperor-worship.

Mention Tojo to a Jap today and he will spit upon the ground and mutter, "Aitsu wa baka desu" (He was a fool). That is indicative of the transition that has occurred.

When five hundred thousand persons gather on the imperial promenade and cheer a speaker who denounces militarism—as happened on May Day, 1946—then the

trend becomes clearer. You come to feel that the Japs are being more than sycophants.

When women kneel on the sidewalk outside Allied Headquarters and hand flowers to MacArthur, and then weep openly when he tells them to stand erect because in America the women do not grovel—then the conviction that a change has occurred becomes stronger.

When five thousand school children hysterically cheer a jeepload of American soldiers, the future looks brighter.

During the controversy over whether America should help feed the Japanese to prevent unrest and possible danger to our troops, Major General William F. Marquat, head of MacArthur's important Economic and Scientific Section, likened the Japanese to prisoners of war. "We certainly never let our prisoners starve, do we?" he commented. And you can't cry "Jap lover" at Marquat, for he was on Corregidor and knew the fierceness of the war in the fight up the Pacific.

Japan's story is different from Germany's. In Japan the generations of training, the indoctrinated culture, and the religious cultism had instilled unquestioning loyalty to authority. The master was ruler of life and death. The faithfulness thus ingrained was channeled into the wrong paths. And so America and the rest of the world suffered.

Unlike the dreary mess in Germany, where there is quadripartite rule and four forms of democracy are being taught, Japan is primarily a one-nation show. We, the Americans, are directing the rewriting of the

textbooks. We are the ones with the chance to recapture the Jap minds. We are issuing the directives and inspiring the democratization. Although we divide the police work, the principal governing task is America's. The obligation to the peaceful future of the world is vast.

We choose to tolerate the imperial system for three reasons, all of them rational. First, the emperor serves as a cohesive force and it is expedient to allow him to remain as a safeguard against complete internal chaos. He is a convenient dummy-on-the-knee for us. A public opinion poll conducted among thirteen hundred Japanese indicates that only twenty-three per cent want the tenno system abolished. However, seventy-four per cent believe sovereignty must rest with the people, as Japan's new constitution provides.

A second reason for tolerating him is that his renunciation of divinity reduces him to a sentimental figurehead whose status is akin to that of the British monarch. By going among the people, speaking to them and listening to their problems, Hirohito has been a living lesson in democracy.

Thirdly, under the Potsdam Agreement Japan is promised the right to choose her own form of government. Toward this accomplishment, the question of keeping the emperor may be put to popular referendum when the people's political consciousness has been broadened. Incidentally, the fact that we have retained the old form of government has caused some strange-

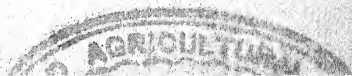
thinking Japanese to insist that Japan surrendered conditionally.

To such absurd arguments there is the simple answer given by Sir William Flood Webb, brilliant president of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, after the chief counsel for the major war criminals had challenged the tribunal's right to try Tojo and gang. "The surrender," said Webb, "was unconditional in that Japan was without power to impose any of its own terms."

Japan is a broken and impoverished country. Thousands are homeless. Entire families live in dark corners of railroad stations. Approximately 5,600,000, or eighteen per cent of the total labor force, are without work. Inflation is upon the land. There are shortages of every commodity. The Japs pay sixty dollars for a pair of shoes. A second-hand suit of clothes is worth the equivalent of two hundred American dollars. It will take fifty years to rebuild the six large cities and the hundred smaller ones that were devastated. Japan's territories have been stripped from her in rightful retribution for her misdeed and she is reduced to an insular area no larger than California.

She is a sorry symbol of a nation gone wrong.

As for the future, there are important objectives to be accomplished either in whole or part if Japan is not to be a burden and a future threat. The purge of the warmongers is not complete. The English-language *Nippon Times* aptly sums up this failure: "Although



large numbers belonging to certain well-defined categories have been quickly purged, the cases of altogether too many others are still being held in suspension.

"There can be no excuse for the delay in taking definite action on many of the cases still pending. Much of the delay, unfortunately, seems to be the result of politics. The less important suspects, notwithstanding their lighter degree of responsibility, have been and are being purged drastically and mercilessly. But important political figures are, in marked contrast, being handled with kid gloves.

"In some cases the government apparently has hesitated to purge an influential opposition politician for fear that it would be accused of using its power unfairly to get rid of a troublesome critic. More often, however, various high government officials have apparently sought to whitewash their own particular proteges or influential politicians who are particularly well-disposed to themselves, while trying to incriminate the supporters of their political rivals.

"These maneuvers are apparently leading to secret arrangements and log-rolling tactics to save this or that individual or to purge this or that person. The result of all these activities, blocking and nullifying each other, is to stymie the work of purging the suspects.

"Even in some cases where a person is without question technically subject to purge, his supporters are asking for special dispensation on the ground that his services are indispensable to the conduct of the essential work of the government.

"But it is difficult to see how any individual tainted with connection with the old regime is indispensable to the new regime which is trying to establish an entirely different social and political structure.

"In carrying out the revolutionary reforms necessary for creation of a new Japan, there can be no indispensable man held over from the past. There should be a clean sweeping away of the past and the emergence of a totally new leadership."

It is imperative that civilian personnel be given a more important role in the running of Japan. There is too much close-minded military thinking. Too many top-ranking officers, jealous of their prerogatives, are engaging in stratagems to protect their sinecures. If there is to be an honest social revolution—or evolution—it must be permitted a freer expression. MacArthur banned "dangerous" public demonstrations. This ban on extremism is being too narrowly construed. MacArthur concluded that the mass food demonstrations were organized and directed by the Communists. From the evidence at hand, he was correct in this assumption.

But somewhere there is a middle ground—a means whereby the voice of the people can be heard. The entrenched interests—and they still hold the country's purse strings—have money with which to put their message across. The people have only themselves. There is a Japanese proverb which should be heeded: "*Damari-musi ga kabe o tosu*" (Silent worms bore holes in the wall).

To siphon off the unemployed, who otherwise will

become increasingly restless, Japan must accelerate her long-range public works program estimated to cost six billion yen.

Implementation of the land reform program is lagging. Too many men who grow rice still cannot afford to eat that rice. Failure to hurry through an agrarian reform has been duplicated in other instances. Too often a directive is issued and then forgotten in the belief—not always accurate—that the Japanese government will enthusiastically carry out the directive right down to the smallest town and prefecture. The breaking up of the *Zaibatsu* is a case in point.

Additional state lands should be converted to agriculture. Fertilizer production should be increased, for the land of Japan is weak from years of intensive cultivation. There must be more accurate data on Japan's nutrition if the other nations are seriously to consider Japan's pleas for food imports. The Japanese have always been adroit at juggling statistics.

Although there is a food shortage, there is no famine. Japan is eating a lot better than most of the countries she overran. During last winter's most critical period, one could drive through towns and see stocks of fish and meat on display in stores; and there was a conspicuous absence of queues clamoring for that food. Prices of course were, and are, high—but that is a problem which must be solved by drastic domestic action. It is claimed that maladjustment of supply results from lack of rail freight equipment. A stern governmental order commandeering all rolling stock, including pas-

senger equipment, for one day would have transported the food to the urban areas of extreme shortage.

Japan today has a population of 74,000,000; there are 3,300,000 more women than men. Realizing the restrictions of Japan's insular position and the economic limitations of the future, advanced thinkers among the Japanese are emphasizing that birth control must be popularized if Japan is not to become hungrier. Unchecked, the birth rate will give Japan a population of 80,000,000 in five years, far too many for its food and industrial resources.

Do the people yet know the meaning of democracy? Not entirely. Most writers are favoring a special style of democracy "in harmony with Japanese tradition." One editorial writer says stubbornly: "Reconstructing a democratic Japan does not mean slavish imitation of democratic America or England. After all, Japan is Japan and she must remain so. Changing our traditional narrow-minded superpatriotism does not mean that we must be infatuated with Occidental civilization without deliberation or criticism. We must recognize that the best way to foster the healthy development of Japan is to adopt a democratic trend from the Japanese standpoint."

But it is easy to find minor imperfections no matter how finely a pattern is fabricated. What counts is that we are on the way toward eventual success in the great task. We must learn to understand the Japanese. We can grant him that understanding without sympathizing with him.

HIDDEN THOUGHTS

DESPITE the calm, there is a consequential amount of smoldering resentment against the occupational forces in Japan. It exceeds the degree which official reports have indicated. Only in a few instances of unprovoked attack against Allied personnel has it been publicly demonstrated. But it exists, and it should stand as a warning to those who advocate a short occupation. The ill will can be detected in the streets. Many Japs who once bowed themselves out of your path will now "elbow" you.

Letters intercepted from the Japanese mails, and to which I was given access by American intelligence censors, indicate what the people are privately thinking. Look at these excerpts from letters which can be described as typifying the feelings of those who refuse to

accept Japan's defeat as more than temporary and transitory:

From a former Shinto priest whose shrine was closed by SCAP (Supreme Command for the Allied Powers) directive—"We shall never forget . . . and must plan revenge on them [the Allies] during the next fifty or even a hundred years."

A former kamikaze pilot—"I dream of the rise of militarism again."

A purged politician—"May we someday avenge ourselves on hateful America and Britain and make our country a dominant world power again."

An alumnus of a military school—"We cannot but feel the urge to bring revenge on our spiteful enemies by any means. Do they not know about us who are watching for an opportunity to prey upon them?"

A repatriate—"My determination to destroy our mortal enemies, which I swore to achieve when you and I last parted, is as firm as ever, so please be reassured. However, it is necessary for us to adjust ourselves."

Resentment against fraternization of Japanese women and Allied troops is pronounced, especially among discharged servicemen who resent their status as fallen heroes and the general lack of cordiality shown them. The censors sometimes laugh at rumors which Japanese letter-writers pass on as gospel.

"We hear," wrote one woman, "that there are twenty thousand women in Yokohama intimately related with Allied soldiers. According to word brought to the pre-

fectural office, thirteen thousand hybrids are to be born in Kansai. It is enough to make one shudder when one hears that there are three thousand Japanese women with Negro children in Yokohama."

Charges of lawlessness, many of them made by former servicemen, are the basis of numerous complaints against occupation personnel by the trouble makers. "The enemy troops often rob the Japanese of money and do mischief to our girls," wrote one unreconstructed warrior.

On the northernmost island of Hokkaido, where the hand of war fell lightly and the inhabitants are comparatively rugged farm types, the malevolence is most pronounced. From my own observations, the facts alleged by the Japanese are either outright untruths or an indication that the Japanese see a bogeyman behind every shoulder patch of the 11th Airborne Division which occupies the island. However, for what they are worth as indicative of Japanese thinking, here are samples of what the mails carry:

"Since the Black Cat corps came as replacements, neither men nor women can walk about carelessly at night. Murders committed by them are frequent. They are of such a violent temper that we can hardly become intimate with them. I often hear that they rob people of watches and things like that."

"Most of the soldiers are reported to have been criminals in America. They therefore are scamps toward women. People say that in Asahikawa not a single day

passes without three or five bodies of women being found without any clothes on them."

"Only the inferior GIs seem to have remained in Japan. They are all prisoners with close-cropped heads, and belong to the parachute troops. Their daily occupations are evil deeds only."

In Hakodate, a city at the southern tip of Hokkaido, a geisha put this on paper:

"All 77th Division soldiers from New York having been transferred either to Yokohama or to Sapporo, only a small number of bad-natured airborne soldiers remains in Hakodate. I don't like Americans because they are too passionate. They are satisfied only when girls behave as they like. Americans are jealous. The New York soldiers were gentle, elegant, generous and polite to women. They were very nice, while soldiers of the airborne troops are stingy and son of a bitch."

GENERAL MACARTHUR IS A FAVORITE SUBJECT: "A divine being called MacArthur has come from faraway America to help us out," said one woman. "I hope he will stay in Japan forever. Once a month I go to a shrine to pray to God that he may always be healthy."

Also of the Supreme Commander: "Somehow or other we are getting along. We look to MacArthur as the second Jesus Christ."

Again: "We are content with the directives. We have been in blank dismay at the result we never expected. Many months have passed since the sorrowful day of

the surrender but we are maintaining a normal way and I personally am contentedly working to rebuild a new Japan. The kind administration we have received from MacArthur makes us feel ashamed of ourselves and of our misconceptions of the American forces. I am resentful of our past leaders who led us into an unreasonable war."

Here is the opinion of a Japanese employed by the U. S. Army: "At present I am supervised by GIs, and my mind has utterly changed. I can speak only broken English such as 'okay' and 'yes' but the Americans are so kind that I don't feel any inferiority. We can't think of them as the former enemy."

Because of a reluctance by many Japanese employers to have anyone once associated with militarism on their payrolls, thousands of former soldiers and sailors have turned to agriculture. Several groups have banded together to buy small farms. Their activities became suspect early in the occupation, and counter-intelligence is maintaining close surveillance of them.

"I have made a complete conversion from Bayonet to hoe," wrote one dischargée. "I shall be happy if I can continue and succeed in this task." A more belligerent attitude is taken by another: "I am leading a tedious everyday life. I have a yearning for the old days."

A former naval cadet writes: "My family is trying to persuade me to take a college course, but what is the use? Besides, only one per cent of the whole number of students to be admitted to colleges may be former military students. As long as the government treats us this

way, I shall never be able to take a college course probably. After all, the sea is in my soul."

It is easy to imagine the feelings of officers now reduced to the role of street vendors. As time goes on, they will have to be watched. The Allied Council has proposed that a complete card index be kept on every member of the officer corps and that periodic checks be made on his activity.

Soon after the 77th Division moved into Hokkaido, Japanese girls hired by the army as waitresses and clerks complained that Japanese men were mistreating them because they associated with the Americans. Several of the girls were beaten. So the army had to escort the girls to and from their jobs in armed trucks.

Signs warning women against fraternizing were tacked to telephone poles. One day an American military government observer attended a Japanese political meeting. When a speaker started praising democracy, a riot broke out and he was chased from the hall. MPs arrived and escorted the American observer to safety.

AS TIME PROGRESSES, the 11th Airborne finds conditions considerably better and is receiving replacements trained to handle the complexities of the Japanese language. For many months, however, the Military Government team at Hakodate was discouraged. They were acutely aware that winning the war was one thing and winning the peace was another.

Of nine officers and eight enlisted men, not one of

them could speak Japanese. None of them ever attended Military Government schools. Only the commanding officer, a colonel, was a Regular Army man. All the others were eager only to go home. They laughed at the idea of making the occupation a career.

Most of the men were former artillerymen. On the island of Cebu, in the Philippines, while staging for the then contemplated invasion of Japan, they were called in one day and told that thenceforth they would be MG administrators. They were briefed on a few fundamentals of over-all policy. That was all.

You couldn't find a harder working or more conscientious group of soldiers anywhere than were those soldiers of the 77th Division at Hakodate. "But we're pretty discouraged," one captain told me. "We think that four people control this town from behind the scenes. But the townspeople are afraid to tell us who they are, and, anyhow, none of us speaks Japanese. We use Japs as interpreters and we're not certain that they can be trusted."

Soldiers of the 306th Infantry Regiment told me that they dreaded going on patrol. They said that whenever they inspected a Japanese building, their commanding officer was certain to get reports that something had been stolen. They then were reprimanded and warned, "It was the Japs' word against ours," one second lieutenant said. "The Japs seem to be out to cause us trouble—and they are getting away with it. Anyway, the whole job here is confusing. We'd be able to do a hell of a lot better job if somebody

higher up would tell us exactly what we're here for and what we're to do. As it is, patrolling isn't much more than something to keep the boys busy."

At a seaside village thirty miles from Tokyo, Compton Pakenham of *Newsweek* and Miss Gwendolyn Dew of the *Detroit News* were interviewing a group of fishermen one day when two elderly Japanese women passed by. They looked at the Americans and made uncomplimentary remarks. Their facial expressions did not change and the fishermen gave no indication that they heard the remarks. The women were surprised, and apologized profusely, when Pakenham, who understands Japanese, angrily turned on them.

This incident may be representative of the over-all conditions in Japan. We must remain alert.



THESE ARE THE PEOPLE

IF A Japanese woman cries out in pain while giving birth, she and the child are forevermore disgraced.

This stoicism, this refusal to yield to pain, has helped to keep the nation intact during its bewilderment and confusion.

But before we go further, let us here debunk the myth that the Japanese of today is a strange creature whose Oriental mind is beyond fathoming. Actually, he is a sensitive and shy person who suffers from a national inferiority complex. If you poke fun at him, he is resentful. If you show him kindness, he responds similarly. He is likely to be boastful to cover up his sense of insecurity or inadequacy.

He will not steal from you. If you doubt it, ask any member of the occupation force. If the one you ask has

served in other parts of the Orient, his answer will be doubly emphatic.

The Jap is naive. If you have a houseboy and tell him to rouse you at a stated hour of the morning, he may tiptoe into the room and gently place a note on your pillow informing you that the hour of arising is at hand. But he may overlook the fact that you have to be awakened in order to read that note.

A guide prepared for military government personnel by the planning and research section of the former Civil Affairs Staging Area in California has this to say:

"Under the heat of wartime emotions the Japanese were commonly seen as treacherous, brutal, sadistic, and fanatical 'monkey-men.'

"It is true that individuals and even groups have at various times demonstrated these traits—as witness the rape of Nanking, Bataan, Pearl Harbor, etc. Without attempting to defend or excuse the Japanese for these horrors it should be emphasized that it is a mistake to think that all Japanese are predominantly the monkey-man type. It would be just as wrong to picture all Americans as constantly being engaged in mob-lynching, gangsterism and race rioting.

"A realistic, balanced knowledge of the Japanese character is necessary for you correctly to appraise the people, understand them and learn how to deal with them.

"Regarding treachery, the Japanese were taught that any baseness, treachery, cruelty or aggression, if

performed for the greater glory of the Emperor, nation or family, was its own justification. It's like carrying our expression, 'All's fair in love and war,' to an extreme. In this respect they do not understand or appreciate our sense of fair play.

"Their outbursts of brutality and sadistic terrorism are largely the result of sudden release from a lifetime of severe restraint and repression. The docile, meek little Japanese when put in uniform, ruthlessly trained and turned loose, has an opportunity for the first time in his life to express himself, and he may go completely berserk, indulging in outrageous orgies of terror and brutality.

"The fanaticism so commonly attributed to the Japanese and seen in the *hara-kiri* act, *Banzai* charges and mass suicides of both soldiers and civilians in the war can also be partly explained. For one thing, the Japanese is taught and firmly believes that to die for the emperor is his highest duty and assures him a place of honor in the next world. Beyond that, he was thoroughly indoctrinated with the idea that capture by Americans meant certain torture and death. No wonder he displayed a recklessness in throwing away his life—an act which to us seems fantastic.

"There are other traits of character—reliability, ingenuity, industriousness, thrift, bravery, aggressiveness, honesty. With some exceptions, depending on individual personality, sex, age, social standing, income, profession and so forth, the average Japanese

displays these characteristics in about the same manner and measure as people in other lands."

THE JAP LIKES TO TRAVEL, despite the discomfort of being jammed into a railroad coach with four hundred others. On an average, he takes a train ride every five days. Each trip totals about fifteen miles. On any given day more than 8,000,000 are either going or coming or both. While on his trip, he will pick up food in the country.

If he can avoid it, the Japanese will not ride on trains or vehicles numbered 42 or 44, for those numbers, known as "shini" and "shishi," mean death. Other things being equal, he will avoid traveling to the northeast, which is known as "kimon" or devil-gate direction.

A Japanese mother, before starting a journey with a child, will usually tuck a gourd into the child's kimono to keep him from falling down. A seashell thrown onto the roof of the house will, according to the superstitious, discourage children from crying. When a youngster is getting his second growth of teeth, mothers occasionally will take one of the old upper teeth and put it on the roof. She then puts a tooth from the lower jaw under the floor. If all goes as expected, the child's second set of teeth will be perfect.

The Jap's diet is being changed, and he's none too happy about it. He is eating a supplemental flour made of ground silkworms, locusts, mulberry leaves, mugworts (a type of sagebrush), pumpkin seeds, water

oats, and leftovers from grape-pressing. There is little sugar available, and the sight of an American candy bar will make him grovel and hiss in the characteristic manner. He then will proceed to pay fifteen yen (\$1.00) for the morsel.

Mr. Japanese knows that democracy means more freedom for his women, and he's somewhat doubtful whether this will be good. But he's willing to give it a try. That was why he encouraged his womenfolk to vote for the first time in Japan's history. He will be awfully disconcerted if the new freedom means that there will have to be a revision of the saying which goes, "For true contentment a man should have a Japanese wife, a French mistress, and an American-style home." To an American, who tells a Japanese husband that a new day has dawned for his wife, will be said, "Ippo kiite gezi o suruna" (One man's story is no story; hear both sides).

In Japan, the public toilets are coeducational. This fact has caused no small amount of embarrassment to the American soldier whose desire for privacy during certain important periods of the day is a Western characteristic. This same American soldier also is continually amazed by the candidness with which the Japanese—both men and women—perform the vital functions at curbstones despite new laws against answering nature's call openly.

When our troops first arrived, they were intrigued by Japan's public bathhouses, where men and women were washing in uninhibited collectivism. It didn't

take the Japanese long, however, to become aware that this custom held more than cursory interest for the tourists in khaki. Doors of the bathhouses, previously left open, were kept closed. The Army soon erected "off-limits" signs.

The average Japanese has little sense of proportion. Why else should the mayor of atom-bombed Hiroshima, for instance, seriously ask American correspondents to tell their readers that Hiroshima thinks the United States should rebuild the city? And how can you rationalize a proposal by a member of the House of Peers that all political powers in Japan be turned over to women?

Today's Japanese is in the black market in one way or another. When he is born, the midwife washes him with black market soap. To school he wears black market shoes. If he is a farm boy, he helps his father collect night soil from neighborhood latrines at prices in excess of government-fixed maximums. When he dies, his family pays a premium of seventy-five dollars to get him cremated.

For the first year of his life, the male child is the center of attention. His every wish is granted. Although emotional display is generally frowned upon, this does not apply in the relationship between mother and child. At the age of one year, the child is given to a brother or sister to tend and to be carried pick-a-back. Because his eyes are kept trained for so long on the neck of the person carrying him, his sight is likely to become weakened. This, plus his vegetable and fish diet,

makes him almost certain to be a wearer of glasses in adult life.

SUZUKI-SAN LIKES TO AVOID ISSUES. He uses a go-between to arrange his marriage and prefers the same procedure for business dealings. This enables him to save face—still an important Oriental custom.

He is a conformist. Because every detail of his life is arranged on a standard pattern, he develops unquestioning obedience. His women flatter him and show him complete obeisance. That was why he reacted wrathfully when, in conquered lands, the subjugated women did not act likewise.

He is gregarious and likes to belong to associations in which there is little personal responsibility.

The Jap is a sucker for sob stories. His drama and his other entertainments are keyed to that fact. He will stand in line for ten hours to see a trashy B-movie. He is sentimental about the beauties of nature.

If you catch him at a lie, he will say he fibbed only because he thought the truth might hurt you. He won't look you in the eye while talking to you. That, he thinks, would be impolite. You never see Japs patting each other on the back in boisterous camaraderie. That would be unseemly familiarity.

In eight months among the Japanese, I was approached by only five street beggars. Two were teen-aged boys who asked for candy. If ever I stopped my jeep and broke out a can of rations, however, I could be certain that in a few moments scores of Japs would

gather about and stare eagerly. But they never asked for a share. If given, however, it was accepted.

With some army rations there are considerably included packages of toilet tissue. That, too, is acceptable to the Japs, because their national ration of this near-necessity is only twelve sheets per week.

There are no blondes among the Japanese. When American soldiers showed some concern about this fact, a Japanese who had been in the export-import business before the war applied to SCAP for permission to bring in a shipload of peroxide.

As rare as blondes are Japan's women automobile drivers. Men have always put obstacles in the way of those who aspired to such nonsensical accomplishments.

In Tokyo's Shiba Ward, where you can drive for miles without seeing an undamaged building, there is a small paper-and-wood house with a white-stucco fence. In it lives Hirashima Shinji, whose name means "to rule justly." He is an old man. As a former building contractor who made a modest fortune, he has some prestige in his neighborhood.

Nightly his friends, most of whom now live in tin shacks or in onetime air raid shelters, come to his home to share a pot of tea and to huddle around the charcoal brazier. With them they bring Japanese-language newspapers, and they sit on the floor and talk over the democracy which the white man wants them to know.

Here is what Hirashima says of today's Japanese:

"We are confused. We know we have done wrong. At least some of us deserve to be punished. Should we all

be punished? I don't know. Certainly if the stories of the awful things our troops have done are true, then those who were guilty must pay.

"I no longer think of the emperor as God. But I do respect him. The people will heed him. If he is removed, then perhaps not all of those who still have evil thoughts will behave.

"Two of my sons have come back from the Manchurian army. They wonder if Japan really lost the war. But I keep talking to them, and they look at the ruins all around us and I think that now they are starting to understand.

"The other day I wanted to trade a Japanese flag for American cigarettes. My sons said I could not do so. You see how they feel?

"I have a grandson. He is eleven years old. I hope that he and the other children do not have to suffer too much for our errors. I think America can show them the right way. It is with the children that our salvation—and perhaps the peace—will rest."

FOR TWENTY YEN YOU CAN, if you feel brave, get a seat aboard a charcoal-burning bus for a two-hour tour of the junk yard that is Tokyo. The tour could be called a past-tense trip, for almost everything to be seen is in a once-was condition. The guide for our ride is also the driver of the bus. As such, he has to stop every half mile, run around to the rear and stoke up the portable furnace which generates the fuel. On grades, the driver occasionally makes the passengers walk.

During the tour, at least ten thousand metal safes are to be seen. They lie rusted and gutted where the houses once stood. A safe has always been a cherished possession to the Japanese. In addition, many homes acquired safes when business houses, to keep their safes from being confiscated for the war-scrap drive, lent them to householders for hiding.

Everywhere one can see tall chimneys standing alone. They mark the former sites of bathhouses. Our bombardiers, it seems, would spot the tall chimneys, conclude that they belonged to factories, and act accordingly.

In every residential section there are hundreds of drill presses and lathes, standing idle and rusted in the ruins of homes. They are proof apparent that the Japanese houses were justifiable military targets.

Here and there new houses are going up. Each house is standardized at two hundred and sixteen square feet of living space and requires twenty-four hundred board feet of material. A master plan for a modernistic new city has been drafted but is being ignored. The urgency to erect living quarters—any type of quarters—is too great to permit much planning. The thousands who live in railroad stations and the public parks must be housed before another winter sets in. Before the war, only one per cent of the 1,100,000 buildings in Tokyo were of masonry. The new Tokyo will be the same.

The most forlorn figure in Japan today is the former soldier. Once respected and treated almost as demi-god, he has fallen into disrepute. Employers fear to hire him.

His friends of the old militaristic societies are too busy scavenging for food to listen to his troubles. The Yasukuni Shrine, where his soul was to be preserved forever, is deserted—closed by the directive against State Shinto. He is wondering whether it is true that he is really descended from the mighty Yamato race which originated in heaven and was responsible for the creation of the world.

The Japanese still exchanges gifts at the slightest pretext, although now the gifts are not so ornate as in other days. Instead of shaking hands, the Japs prefer to bow and hiss; being touched in public is still something to be avoided.

The ending of the war has made little difference in Japanese observance of ages-old customs. They still have festivals dedicated to the spirits of old hats and souls of turtles and storks. Along the streets near Tokyo's Ueno Station there are shops doing a brisk business in the attachments of folk medicine. They sell baked sparrows which, dissolved in alcohol, will, it is said, cure coughs. There are cremated spiders and toads for rheumatism, old snakeskins for skin ailments, and worms and weasels for broken arms and legs. It will take a long time for witchery to pass away.

OVER A FEW CUPS OF SAKE, a Japanese will tell you many folk stories. There is, for instance, the one about the ugly duckling daughter who ran to her mother and cried out that something was awfully wrong with her, and that people said she wasn't quite all right. "Non-

sense," consoled the mother, "just raise your kimono a bit, my child." The child raised her kimono. "See," said Mama-san, "you are more than all right. One leg is longer than the other."

In Japan, carpenters use a minimum of nails. This is principally because metal has been so difficult to get. But the carpenters have another explanation, which they'll give you with a wry smile. "We don't use nails because nails make the hammers wear out faster," they say.

It is true that the Japanese like to take baths, but it is also true that they have a strange habit of not changing the bath water. One tubful takes care of the whole family.

One day the Japanese central liaison office forwarded to the Americans an application of the Nippon Diamond Company for the return of gems and books purportedly belonging to the firm. G-2 was put to work. Eventually came the report that somebody was trying to fool someone. There wasn't, and never had been, a Nippon Diamond Company.

Thus far the occupation has had slight effect on the old system of Japanese family life under which the eldest male is the ruler of the household. If these family elders can be won over to the side of democracy, the occupation task will be greatly simplified.

Although the power which Japanese women exert over the men of Japan is usually underestimated, it becomes increasingly apparent that in the sanctum of the household the woman's wishes carry due weight.

But, all in all, the system of family patriarchy is still too strong. Liberal writers among the Japanese are aware of this. Discussing the merits and demerits of the system, Zennosuke Nakagawa wrote in *Hyoron*:

"The idea of controlling family members by absolute power is in conflict with liberty and the equality of the individual. It is natural that there be a social division of labor according to sex. Equality does not mean formal, mechanical equality but substantial, organic equality. I suggest correction of the evils rather than abolition of the system."

A hidebound traditionalist is Hisae Shibata, who wrote in *Gendai*, "If, someday, Japanese women should become more intelligent than men they must not become too presumptuous but rather remain reserved toward men, as they have been for ages."

Inequality in the civil laws is constantly denounced by free-thinkers. "Under present conditions," read an article in *Fujin Asahi*, "the Japanese woman is in abject slavery in her role as daughter, wife and mother. A wife can be punished when she has committed adultery, but not the man unless he has taken another man's wife."

"It has been a Japanese custom to have a concubine. It has been considered an honor to have a child by that concubine if the wife was childless. This custom still remains recognized by our civil law. It is most irrational that a child born to another woman and recognized by the father as his child should become also the child of his legal wife. Such a wife has been betrayed by her

husband, and the child, if a boy, has the right of inheritance; the law gives no protection to the legal wife."

JAPAN STILL HAS THOUSANDS OF EARTHQUAKES A YEAR, most of them so slight that only the seismographs can detect them. Among the older Japanese, especially in rural districts, weather forecasts are made according to the hour at which the quake occurs. If the temblor happens between five and seven P.M., rain is due; a four P.M. tremor means dry weather, and if the shock is felt between six and eight P.M., beware of winds. Persons who believe in such theories are usually ones who also celebrate an annual festival dedicated to the God of Brushes, who has so kindly provided cleaning utensils for households.

The food shortage in Japan has forced a change in another festival—the offering of gourds at Buddhist temples. The gourds were supposed to absorb whatever diseases the pilgrims might have. After such absorption, the gourds were thrown into the river. Today gourds are too valuable for such goings-on.

For centuries fishermen sighting a school of fish have heralded the information to other fishermen by blowing on conch-shell trumpets. When, in June, 1946, MacArthur decided to extend the areas in which Japanese fishing boats might operate, the trumpeting in fishing communities were loud and long.

The task of repatriating an estimated 6,000,000 Japanese is progressing rapidly. Only Russia's failure to co-operate in moving Japanese out of Soviet-occu-

pied territory is interfering with the program which the Japanese were assured at Potsdam would be fulfilled.

At the great port of Sasebo, the dead and the living dead move through the repatriation center. The dead, who have failed to survive the trip across the East China Sea, are stacked in one corner of a barren field and burned amid chanting and wailing. The living dead, their faces showing either hope or fear, move slowly and tortuously through the processing which is carried out in a setting which Cecil B. DeMille himself might have created.

By night and by day the unending stream of humanity shuffles in and out. Those coming in are those who years ago went to Korea to live off the fat of the land and outward bound are Koreans whom the Japs brought to Japan and impressed into labor squads. The incoming hordes are well clothed, those going out are suffering from starvation and exposure. The Japs are in most cases reluctant to return to their homeland. They know that times have changed.

The legend of Mary Denton will be told in Japan for years to come, for it was Mary Denton who, so the story goes, saved the cultural city of Kyoto from destruction.

I found Mary Denton, ill and emaciated, in an unheated house on the campus of Doshisha University. She had lived there since coming from America in 1888 to teach English to Japanese girls. When I saw her she was eighty-seven and too weak to walk.

Above the bed on which she lay was a photograph of her and former Ambassador Joseph W. Grew. On a table was a picture of General MacArthur; across the bottom was scrawled, "He is a very great man and will do much for this land."

Feebly Miss Denton told how the university, one of Japan's largest, was founded in 1875 by Joseph Hardy Neesima, an Amherst-educated Japanese who had the backing of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions.

Miss Denton had gone to Kyoto from Pasadena, California, in 1917 on a short-term contract to teach Japanese girls. So impressed was she by the possibilities of Christian work that she decided to remain. In the intervening years she had been back to America for only two visits. Strangely enough, she never learned to speak Japanese.

Whenever a prominent foreigner visited Kyoto, which was Japan's former capital, Miss Denton usually was the one who officially welcomed him. Her acquaintanceship became international.

When the Allies began their destruction of Japanese cities, the mayor of Kyoto went to Mary and asked her to intercede to save Kyoto.

Mary went to work. Night after night she would go on the radio and appeal to the Americans to save Kyoto. She told of the cultural history of the city, of its hundreds of ancient shrines, and of how the university was teaching English and Bible lessons. Several of her ap-

peals were addressed directly to curators of American art museums in the hope that they could keep the bombers away.

After the Americans moved into Kyoto, they found that the Japanese hadn't kept faith with Mary Denton, for scattered throughout the city and suburbs were many major war plants, carefully camouflaged as homes and schools. When I saw Mary Denton I didn't have the courage to tell her that had the war lasted many more weeks, her beloved Kyoto would have been devastated by an atomic bomb.

TO THE KNOTTY PROBLEMS OF THE OCCUPATION can be added the question of trying to decide whether a Japanese is being an obstructionist or just plain dumb. Brigadier General Sherman V. Hasbrouck is inclined to feel that in most instances it's dumbness.

"Dumbness," he says, "has almost been bred into these people. Every time they tried to raise their heads, they had them beaten down."

Occasionally, however, says Hasbrouck, it's more than a lack of gray matter. Take, for instance, the case of the onetime Kempei Tai sergeant.

Shortly after Hasbrouck moved into Nagano with his 97th Division Artillery, the Kempei Tai bruiser was assigned as chief liaison man between the army and the Japanese. Immediately everything became confused. Orders weren't carried out. Commands were misunderstood. Translations never came out the way they were

intended. The onetime kempei was hauled away to jail. Conditions immediately improved.

At Otsu, Japan, a two-fisted officer, Colonel Ray E. Cavenee, gave voice to a sentiment held by many an American officer. "The Japs," he theorized, "are pulling the greatest bluff ever attempted against American people. They are sneaky right down to their pagan souls. They are like animals. Ever since 1900 we had been saying and writing fine things about Japan. We told only about the beautiful scenery and the souvenirs. We overlooked the primitive aspect. We put out so much baloney that even the Japs swallowed it and got grandiose ideas."

The American Army, in an extensive overhauling of its soldier information program, is compelling the troops to learn about Japanese customs. The purpose is to promote understanding—and, coincidentally, friendship—toward the people who, short months ago, were being described in Army propaganda as split-toed apemen who deserved a death as brutal as that which they inflicted. Every soldier must receive at least one hour of instruction each week. The classes are run during regular duty hours. They cover such non-combat subjects as Japanese flower arrangements, incense burning, marriage, dress, tea ceremonies, and fishing with cormorants.

"A soldier can win the war and forfeit the peace," says Rutherford Poates, of Atlanta, chief of the Information Section, who as a onetime Army psychologi-

cal warfare lieutenant himself helped encourage the urge to kill.

"If he knows why the Japanese act and think the way they do, he is likely to be more amiable and polite. He'll be inclined to wave to the people he passes on country roads. He won't be so quick to push a Japanese off the sidewalk."

In Tokyo, Hibiya Hall, the largest auditorium in the city, is used for the "Troop Information Hour," as it is known officially. Within platoons and companies in the outlying districts the groups are naturally smaller and less formal. The men are encouraged to ask questions and make comments.

In November, 1945, a War Department film called *Your Job In Japan* arrived in Japan for showing to the occupation forces. Its theme was that the Japs were still dangerous and not to be trusted. When top SCAP officers heard about it, they immediately ordered that all showings be halted. The movie then was sent back to Washington for revision.

Now it is back, and thirty prints are being shown through Japan, Korea, and Okinawa. The remade version starts off with a view of a Japanese brain which has been warped by evil influences. As the reel unfolds, the soldiers see how SCAP through its directives is whittling away at that brain, remolding it and cutting out the cancerous tissue of militarism. If the spectators haven't fallen asleep in the oppressive Japanese heat, they finally see a normal thinking machine jam-packed with democracy.

A text used at the Kobe Base can be considered typical. In it is such information as:

"Speaking broadly, there are no bachelors in Japan. The men, having everything their own way, naturally marry young. . . . The only effect of early marriage on the men is to change the date of their wild-oats sowing, making it occur after wedlock instead of before. . . .

"Like most other people the Japanese eat three meals a day. . . .

"Japanese men and women dress in a highly elegant and sanitary style. The only disadvantage is that the flopping of the kimono hinders a free gait. . . .

"Foreign gourmets living in Japan have discovered that a delicious ice cream can be made out of thick tea. . . .

"Flower arrangement is very widely taught in girls' high schools and among ladies of any social standing. After all, flower arrangement is considered by the Japanese as a necessary means for developing the peaceful frame of mind. . . .

"The art of burning incense (kodo) is regarded as cultivating mental composure by developing a refined sense of smell. Very often in time of war Japan's soldiers burned incense in their helmets with the idea of keeping out bad odors if they were killed."



LOVE WITHOUT KISSES

TWENTY-TWO girl employees are fired for nighttime visits to the rooms at the Peers Club, an officers' swank billet in Tokyo. The girls insist they visited the rooms to give language lessons but the club manager, who had been listening at the doors, says the noises he heard didn't indicate language lessons. . . .

Two GIs are sentenced to life in prison at hard labor because they went berserk from drinking five quarts of sake at a geisha party and killed two Japanese men "for the thrill of it." . . .

An Army civilian employee quartered at the Yuraku Building, a junior officers' billet, threatens to quit because the three other men in his room keep him awake with their nightly adventures with homeless girls who come in to get warm. . . .

A British correspondent for Reuters leaves the Tokyo

Correspondents' Club for a nocturnal stroll around the block. He meets a woman artist who looks at his profile in the moonlight and says she would like to paint it. They adjourn to his room. She sets up her easel, poses him, then removes her clothes and proceeds with the painting. He attempts to develop the acquaintanceship but is resentfully told, "Non deska." The girl packs up her equipment and vanishes into the night. . . .

There is a vast juro house in the Tokyo suburbs. It is called "Willow Run." A huge sign outside proclaims "V-D. KEEP AWAY. OFF LIMITS." However, business thrives. . . .

The Navy sets up a pro station inside a house of prostitution. Military police make the rounds of other houses and collar the visitors as they leave; they escort them to the nearest prophylactic station, and then to the provost marshal for a reprimand. . . .

Contraceptives are sold openly at Army PXs where Japanese girls are employed behind the counters. . . .

The park surrounding the Imperial Palace is littered each morning with remnants of overnight revelry. An estimated 90,000 unmarried Japanese women are having babies in the year following the start of the occupation. . . .

Brothers will lend their sisters for candy bars. Fathers consider a carton of cigarettes an excellent price for a daughter's favor. . . .

That is Japan today. Here is how the *Nippon Times*, one of Japan's six English language newspapers, deplored the condition: "A coarsening of manners and a

slackening of moral and ethical standards seem to be an inevitable concomitant of every war. But in the case of Japan the situation has apparently been worsened by the completeness of her defeat. In their overwhelming defeat the Japanese people have lost the pride which enabled them to maintain themselves as a self-respecting nation.

"With the collapse of the nation, national pride and self-respect have disappeared, and with them have vanished also the personal pride and self-respect which make for public morality. The finer amenities of human conduct can hardly exist when people are starving."

A worried soldier hurried into the Correspondents' Club one day. He was looking for Associated Press photographer Charles Gorry, who had taken a picture of a GI standing alongside the imperial moat with his arms around two smiling girls. The man seeking Gorry said his wife had seen the photo in a Seattle newspaper, assumed the pictured GI was himself, and had filed for divorce. He wanted Gorry to attest that the man by the moat was somebody else. Gorry did.

The Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* conducted a poll among American soldiers on the question of Japanese women. Most of the men interviewed praised the Japanese women for their kindly qualities, their submissiveness, and their eagerness to make the men comfortable. Said one soldier: "The American girls could take a lesson in respect from these people over here."

The concern felt at home by wives, mothers, and sweethearts has worried the Army high command. On

April 2, 1946, MacArthur addressed a letter to all chaplains on the question of "grave concern and deep distress over published reports suggestive of an existing widespread promiscuous relationship between members of the occupying forces and Japanese women of immoral character."

"On several occasions," he wrote, "I have taken the opportunity to commend publicly the high standard maintained by our forces engaged in the occupation, and I have seen nothing to discount that view . . . Unfortunately there has been a growing tendency to misconstrue the word 'fraternization'—to clothe it with the sole meaning of immorality—and greatly to overemphasize and misinterpret the relationship between members of the American occupying forces and the Japanese people . . .

"It would be useless to issue any order banning all social contact with the Japanese people. It could not be enforced, would not solve the problem and would be violative of the inherent self-respect and personal rights of the American soldier.

"I do, however, desire that members of the American forces of occupation be kept constantly reminded that by the dignity and irreproachability of their conduct is judgment passed upon our country, both by our fallen enemy and by all other peoples of the world—and that any failure to live up to that high standard of morality, with which the soldier was indoctrinated in his cherished home, not only impugns the reputation of our forces as a whole and places a stain upon our country's escutch-

eon but causes the deepest distress and sorrow in that home.

"The problem is one of self-control and self-discipline—characteristics which have never failed the American soldier in time of stress."

Still unchanged was the basic Army policy of telling soldiers to behave—"but if you don't, for goodness' sake be careful and use prophylactics which are for sale at the nearest post exchange." This is a policy which chaplains in Japan and elsewhere believe should be replaced by one providing imprisonment for breaches of morality. Japanese women had been told the Americans would torture and kill them. That was why most of the attractive girls were hiding in the hills when the troops arrived. Those that remained wore tight-bottomed pajamas when abroad in the streets.

But it didn't take the girls long to succumb to the charm of the Americans. Wrote one woman to the magazine *Fujin Gaho*: "I find them courteous, friendly, care-free and perfectly at ease. What a sharp and painful contrast to the haughty, mean and discourteous Japanese soldiers who used to live in the barracks near my home."

A Japanese actress, Yukiko Todoroki, commented: "I like the frank attitude of American GIs so much in contrast with Japanese indirection. When they like a song they say so, and if they don't they let you know."

In the magazine *Sekai*, an authoress told how an American officer brought the light to a Japanese married couple. "He taught them how they should love each

other with expressive conduct as well as in the quiet of their room," she wrote. "He actually convinced them that they could kiss in public."

That Oriental reluctance to kiss when a third party is present was surprising to the Americans. Even when the girls explained that the dislike was based on health considerations as well as on belief that the devil enters the body through osculation, the GIs were puzzled.

In May, 1946, the first Japanese-made moving picture ever to depict a kissing scene was shown in Tokyo. The film, *Hatachi no Seishun* (Young Hearts), was embarrassing to the audience, according to the review in the *Nippon Times*. A few days later the Free Film Workers Union severely criticized the producers for "unnecessary embracing scenes which are plainly against the best interests of public morale." The union said the public would not be benefited by seeing "huggings, squeezings, clingings, etc."

There is a little-known story that goes with the making of that kissing scene. Ernest Hobrecht, United Press correspondent, had been dating the actress for three months and on various occasions had attempted a kiss. Always he was turned down. Hobrecht, who prides himself on being somewhat of a blade, couldn't reconcile her attitude with what he had heard about Japanese women. So one night he forced the issue. He got his kiss. "Gosh," he said later, "she just went limp and acted as though she enjoyed it."

The next day a messenger arrived at the Correspondents' Club. He left a package and a note for Hobrecht.

In the package was a gift. The note contained a farewell message for the correspondent. "You never should have kissed me," it read. "That is not our national custom. I think you will have to go your way and I shall go mine."

Hobrecht to this day isn't quite sure whether he was being kidded.

THE GIs WERE QUICK TO LEARN about—and to like—the Japanese custom of mixed bathing at Japan's sulphur spas. Resort areas such as Atami and Nikko boomed. The rate for a good back-scrub by an unclad *ojosan* increased from five yen per hour to one hundred and fifty. Revelation that the Eighth Army's venereal rate was perhaps the highest of any army in the world and that ninety per cent of the back-scrubbers were diseased did not decrease the patronage. It was estimated that sixty per cent of the GIs received at least one back-washing during their stay in Nippon.

Although sexual liberality is higher among single girls than in any other country, among married women it is rare. They consider themselves chattels of their husbands and as such belong absolutely to them.

As for the husbands, however, they are permitted to seek diversion. Even if a man brings home a girl to share his wife's bed, no stigma is attached. Only a blind man could doubt, however, that the legitimate wife resented the party of the third part.

The meaning of "geisha," incidentally, has been distorted by the Americans to encompass all entertainers,

including prostitutes. In its true sense, it means a girl who is trained from childhood in the fine arts of singing and dancing and who will not go beyond such activities except, of course, as her natural womanly fancy and her appreciation of the worth of the yen might dictate.

Divorce is easy for the man. He and his wife go to the local public registrar's office and sign a statement of willingness to go their separate ways. If there are children, the couple indicates what will happen to them. That is all. In bringing democracy to Japan's womanhood, consideration should be given to a change in this divorce custom.

A single girl who has been deflowered does not suffer social ostracism. Even if a child results, she does not become an outcast. It merely means that she is expected to marry someone in the social strata next below hers.

Until the B-29s started burning them away there were in Japan 13,000 houses of assignation, 33,000 bars and cafés, 61,000 *ryoriten*, 158,000 *inshokuten*, and 24,160 amusement places. The men of Japan, as you can see, like a good time.

Now that families of troops have arrived in Japan, there are many embarrassments. The wife of one colonel was awakened at one A.M. by someone trying to climb into bed with her. The someone turned out to be her husband's former Japanese bed partner who had come back during the night after having been cast adrift just prior to arrival of his wife.

On the train to Nikko one fine week end was a headquarters colonel. With him was a svelte Russian who

had been keeping lonesomeness from reaching him those many months. The next time I saw the colonel, who was a short, thin man with a pencil mustache, he was at the dockside in Yokohama waiting for the good ship *Ainsworth*, aboard which was his wife, to be warped into position. The colonel was holding a small seventy-five cent orchid in one hand and waving to his wife with the other. When he saw me, he paled—and increased the tempo of the handwaving.

American immorality in Tokyo reached its height in the spring of 1946 when military police began making raids on various billets. At the Nomura Hotel, where three hundred and fifty civilian employees of Allied Headquarters were billeted, the MPs routed one hundred women who had set up housekeeping in dormitories which in some cases housed fourteen men. The girls, homeless, took to sleeping in the hotel lobby. This brought an order that lights must be kept burning all night because the building custodian had seen four couples engaged in questionable activities on the lobby floor. An order was issued prohibiting all women guests from going above the ground floor. The civilians were warned that anyone caught removing food from the mess hall would be arrested. The following notice was put on the bulletin board by a colonel:

“I have received verified reports of serious misconduct by some personnel billeted here. While the morals of civilians are of no concern to this office, the provision of as decent billets as possible is my responsibility. When the immoral actions of a few individuals offend

the sensibilities of the majority, those actions can no longer be tolerated."

On June 7, 1946, all Japanese women except employees were ordered to stay out of army billets. Women of other nations, however, were not affected. At the Yuraku Building, where junior officers were quartered, a protest was drawn up and presented to the Army Inspector General. If some women were to be barred, all women should be kept out, said the petition. It seems that somebody who didn't have a white woman for solace was jealous of those who did. The question of whether the occupation high command was willing to show favoritism to Germans, for instance, was raised. In Japan, incidentally, the sizable German colony prospered during the war. Its members are readjusting to the changed times with the claim that they were anti-Nazis. Those who work for the army, for example, are permitted to eat army food at the same low rate which officers pay. Japanese, however, are barred from the mess halls. In Yokohama, I was invited to dinner one evening by fifteen Germans who told me they were having the time of their lives. For the meal, they had steak and plenty of fresh butter—while their onetime Japanese cohorts stood outside the door and drooled.

A BEST SELLER IN JAPAN is a handy little number called *Japanese in Three Weeks* by S. Sheba. Aware of the trend of the times, he has included a chapter titled "Phrases in Cupidland." It is bursting at the margins with "statements trimmed down for a busy world."

This chapter by author Sheba starts off by informing the reader that "I worship you" is, in Japanese, "Anata wo suhai shimasu." From there on, the reader is given translations indicating various degrees of affection. Recommended are: "I live for you only. My love for you is all my life. I'll love you long and I'll love you true. When you are gone darkness comes into my soul. My heart goes pitapat when you kiss me. Each parting is a grief unspeakable. You are sweet as a demure violet. Dear heart, you are mine alone."

S. Sheba is an expert on metaphors. "The phrases in my book," he writes, "are like milk—of easy and speedy digestion—while the diagrams explaining the peculiar construction of Japanese sentences are comparable to a palatable and nutritious food in solid form.

"Students may say, after going through a few Japanese sentences, that Japanese talk backward; that is to say, the head in English is the tail in Japanese and vice versa. So it is, but please remember that you are on the opposite side of the globe when you are in Japan.

"In other words, America sees the setting sun before Japan bids welcome to the rising sun which again, after the few hours it goes down beyond our western horizon, rises up in Europe as the morning sun.

"If you always use your own standard of time you are bound to mix up American P.M. with Japanese A.M., as you get confused in other matters by measuring other people with your own standard.

"Forget the hour in New York or in London while you are in Tokyo; otherwise you might say 'Chayo'

when you retire at night or 'Oyasumi' at breakfast in this land that stands just as level on time as your land but on the opposite side of the world.

"The Japanese language will become the easiest in the world When You Change Your Mind And See Things From The Opposite Angle."

From this, the writer lurches into a chapter entitled "Are Japanese Expressions Topsy-Turvy?" He answers himself with a succinct "no" and offers this proof:

"For instance, a Japanese says '*Watakushi no chichi*' (I/of/father), but '*Watakushi no*' is a possessive case of 'I' and 'my' in English and '*Watakushi no chichi*' becomes 'my father.' The English language, in a sense, is more complicated."

ONE OF THE WORLD'S STRANGEST CHARACTERS is Hitoshi Narikawa, "Papa-san," as he is known in Tokyo's infamous Yoshiwara District, who is, or was, Japan's king of sin.

On January 24, 1946, MacArthur outlawed legal prostitution and ordered the Japanese government to annul all contracts or agreements binding women to bondage. He acted, he said, under that part of the Potsdam Declaration guaranteeing respect for fundamental rights. No longer, MacArthur said, could fathers sell their daughters for amounts ranging from three hundred yen (\$20.00) to one thousand yen (\$66.66). No longer need the girls spend their lifetimes trying to repay that debt.

Investigations had shown that ten per cent of a girl's

earnings was deducted by her owner for "use of realty" and half of the remainder was appropriated for food and lodging and for the owner's services as house proprietor. For the rest, the girl not only had to buy clothes and cosmetics but also make bonus payments to the owner. He, in turn, would sell her kimonos at three times their actual worth—and she had to buy them.

The penalty for violation of the emancipation proclamation was set at three months' imprisonment and a one hundred-yen fine. This applied also to ruffians who might try to molest girls trying to go straight. Eight months after the edict, thousands of houses were still operating—but under the guise of restaurants where a man could buy a bowl of soup and get a girl as a dividend.

One man, Hitoshi Narikawa, continues to run the girl market in Japan. He looks like Santa Claus, and to the 45,500 girls whom he controls he insists he is exactly that. To persons who somehow don't approve of white slavery—either disguised or undisguised—he is a human louse.

When MacArthur ordered all women in bondage set free and their debts canceled, "Papa-san," as he is known, complied, he reports, by telling the women in his six thousand houses throughout Japan that they could walk out and never return. They were liberated, he says he told them. The shackles were off. Democracy had come. But Papa-san sighs and insists that out of his fifty thousand butterflies only five hundred accepted the offer. The others said they'd rather continue at the same old stand.

"It wasn't that they loved their work," he explains. "It was merely that they didn't want to be unemployed, homeless and hungry. And anyhow, they liked the chance to meet an occasional kind American soldier."

So Hitoshi decided to let the girls stay on under a new arrangement which he, in the goodness of his Oriental heart, says complies with all directives. Instead of taking a flat seventy-five per cent of the girls' earnings, plus a moderate further assessment for food and clothing and an occasional ration of sake, he merely charges them so much per day for the rental of rooms. The rooms are their own. In them, they can do as they wish. If perchance the girls insist on paying off the debts which they or their fathers (who sold them) owe, that's well and good. If they don't, they don't.

It's as simple as that. But those who don't pay ought not to be surprised if they are clouted over the head some dark night and hoisted into the Sumida River by Papa-san's fine little muscular assistants.

Papa-san is a six-foot, 250-pound giant who dresses in white pajamas which look like something from an unemployed acrobat. If you lie and tell him he doesn't look his sixty-two years, he will grin through his false teeth, fidget with his comic-opera spectacles, and nervously adjust the wet washcloth which he keeps folded on his bald dome when hot weather is afflicting Japan.

You can find the Papa squatted on a white pillow behind a low red-lacquer table in the Yoshiwara headquarters of the Association of Recreation Committees. The Association has five hundred branches and its net income is estimated at 150,000 yen (\$10,000) per day

despite the great inroads of the MacArthur directive.

On the lacquer table is a thick book. In it are the names of Papa-san's girls and a record of how much was borrowed against them and their services. It is a precious book. It was one of the few things Narikawa saved on March 10, 1945, when the B-29s set the Yoshiwara ablaze and a high wind did the rest. On that eventful day, Papa-san fled from his mansion with ten of his favorite girls. Three hundred others ran in the opposite direction. They never returned. Most were burned to death. Thirty others committed suicide as the flames neared them, and at least ten were drowned when a river in which they took refuge started turning into steam. Those three hundred lost girls represented an investment of sixty thousand yen, plus interest, Papa-san recalls.

Narikawa lost his home and office in the fire and is currently living in a tin-roofed hut which workmen are busy enlarging. Across the rubble street from his hut is the Association's newest and finest house, a baby-blue Florida-type bungalow with corner windows and a central courtyard filled with juniper bushes and potted lilies.

When you and your interpreter start the interview, Papa-san hands you a card. On one side he is identified as head of the Association. On the other side it says that he also is president of the "All-Japan Anti-Venereal Disease Institute for Clean Living."

He offers you an American cigarette. Three crones come scurrying out of an adjoining room. They are

carrying teacups. They kneel on the *tatami* (straw floor mats) and put the cups on the table. You notice that the saucers are warped.

In one corner of the room is a character sitting cross-legged. He looks like something straight from the baboon division of a zoo. He is busy working an abacus and looks up only long enough to throw an envious glance at the American cigarettes (Tokyo price: \$3.00 a pack). He is, it develops, the Association's book-keeper.

Two kimonoed women come up the walk. They are carrying paper umbrellas against the heat of the sun. They look in through the open door, hand the book-keeper ten yen each, get a receipt, and continue on their way, saying nothing.

A plug-ugly wearing a Japanese army officer's uniform without insignia arrives. He says he wants to meet a girl. Papa-sen hands him a list and says to please stand by until he is through with us.

Narikawa says proudly that he has been at his business thirty-four years. He says he is the son of a teacher who, like himself, grew a ten-inch beard to cover pox scars.

Papa-san declares that he got into the money-lending, girl-peddling racket when a friend died and left him six very fine hotels.

He says he supports two hundred war orphans and would not feel offended if the correspondent likened him to Robin Hood.

The most he ever lent on a girl, he says, was ten thou-

sand yen. He gave it direct to the girl herself. She needed it to pay funeral expenses and to send her brother through school. Usually Papa-san will lend no more than three hundred yen on a girl. But the ten thousand-yen borrower, he says, was very beautiful. She also could dance, play the mandolin, and arrange flowers. She repaid the loan in two months—the length of time it took her to meet a fine and rich Japanese who wanted a second wife to come and live with him and his first wife.

Papa-san thinks MacArthur made a mistake in issuing the emancipation directive. Now, he says, girls can't be licensed and there are no required medical examinations. Health conditions, he insists, are becoming worse.

Papa-san's major desire in life is to go to America and ask if there are any girls there who would like to come to Japan with him.

SOURCES WHO SHOULD KNOW report that most Japanese women are careful always to don underwear beneath their kimonos. A report, beyond verification, says that one day there was a fire in Tokyo's largest department store and that the drawers-less salesladies refused to leap into fire nets for fear they would bare their assets from on high. Because of their *hazukashii* (modesty) they preferred to die in the flames. As a result, so the story goes, all salesladies now must wear undergarments.

Last summer a group of Japan's professional love-

makers stormed into Tokyo police headquarters and protested loudly against the competition from what they called "walk-in-the-park amateurs." That night the police rounded up one hundred and forty-six moonlight strollers in Hibiya Park. It was found that of those girls, eighty-one had active venereal disease. A fifth of the others were office workers. Each of them carried a so-called "pillow book," an interesting little illustrated manual showing the twelve standard positions (as the Orientals interpret them) for lovemaking. Six of the girls arrested were actresses employed by Japan's largest movie studio.

When it was first announced that families of soldiers would be brought to Japan, the newspaper *Asahi* sighed editorially, "This should stabilize certain wild soldiers whose cultural development has been neglected in favor of other interests."

The Japanese are not unaware of the state of the country's morals. One newspaper commentator writes:

"Full sexual education on a coeducational basis for those who have reached puberty is needed in our schools. This will overcome much of the restlessness and raise the morality."

A woman, Kazuko Satake, has this to say in *Fujin Shunju*: "Girls, beware of wolves in sheep's clothing, be they GI or Japanese. Be not deceived by men's outward appearance. The moral laxity of Japanese men is appalling. They have no right, many of them, to call themselves gentlemen. Furthermore, if they do not rid themselves of this feeling of superiority over women

they are going to be ostracized by the world at large. As a husband the Japanese man is famous for his laziness. He has the bad habit of scolding his wife in the presence of the children. In the office he is prone to treat women workers as inferiors."

After walking the streets of Tokyo in search of beauty, Usaburo Ihara, an artist, wrote an article for *Shufu No Tomo* in which he expressed dismay at "the gaudy, tawdry, and flashy kimonos of the young girls who flood the streets." Even more did he deplore the appearance of "crude, western-style dresses." Sadly he wrote:

"When kimonos reached unparalleled beauty as the result of study and the love of our ancestors, foreign-style dress was introduced into our country and everyone jumped at it from curiosity and for its convenience without considering difference of physical institution and mode of life. There is no nation other than the Japanese which so freely destroys things of long tradition.

"The defeat of war has brought discredit upon the male sex. The cries of liberty, freedom and woman suffrage have caused to fly away even those womanly virtues which were the last refuge of the male sex. It is only natural for girls to prefer kind and stylish GIs to Japanese men who have become stylish and dirty.

"Speaking frankly, Japanese men seem to be tired of life. If the female sex has something like a Potsdam Declaration to offer they may not be unwilling to accept it. In that case some sort of Amazonian society will be

formed, women will put away all womanly things such as painting their faces and dressing up, and men will wear ornaments like cockerels or peacocks to court the favor of the ruling sex."

MYTH WITH A MUSTACHE

THE people still love their Emperor.

This is obvious from the reception and the banzais given the shallow-minded little puppet as he moves about the countryside mumbling "Ah-so, ah-so" to the people and letting them know that he is now an ex-God who is sincerely interested in their problems.

General MacArthur is known definitely to have decided to let Hirohito keep his throne and to resist any movement from within the Far Eastern Commission or elsewhere to remove him. The general considers "Charlie," as irreverent Americans call him, to have been a peace-loving recluse who was more concerned with birds and bees than with autocracy and war.

Aware of MacArthur's attitude and the enthusiasm of the people, the Communists in Japan have backtracked from a previous insistence that the tenno must

fall. They are inclined to go along, at least for the time being, with constitutional changes which give Japan a limited monarchy.

If by chance the emperor should abdicate, perhaps out of conviction that this would appease critics who charge him with moral if not direct war responsibility, his fourteen-year-old son, Crown Prince Akihito, a buck-toothed little fellow who likes to write poetry, would succeed to the throne.

A regency would then be established to rule until Akihito came of age. Under Imperial House Law, Hirohito's eldest brother, Yasuhito Chichibu, should become the regent. However, Chichibu is tubercular and would decline. This then would make Prince Nobuhito Takamatsu, the second of Hirohito's three brothers, eligible. Takamatsu is popular with the people and, although he was educated in the ways of the militarists, he would be acceptable to MacArthur on the basis of future, rather than past, performance.

At the Gakushuin School for Boys in suburban Tokyo, young Prince Akihito is receiving the most democratic education ever given a Japanese prince of the royal family. Other princes received private tutoring within palace precincts. In this instance only Akihito's school, which used to be exclusively for children of members of the House of Peers, is private.

As a first-year high school student, Akihito is studying English. He gets high grades in history (new and revised texts are used), arithmetic, and piano. He plays baseball and volleyball, and scuffles with playmates. He

reads English-language newspapers and listens to the American Army radio. On week ends he is taken to the Imperial Palace where his father is said to be giving him reports on the imperial inspection tours.

As for Hirohito himself, he says he is having more fun than he ever thought possible. He is a changed man, too. When he started his trekking, he was nervous and obviously ill at ease. When a town official or a factory manager was reading a report, the Emperor would shift uneasily from foot to foot. He would keep his eyes on the ground and, when he spoke, it was in a squeaking tone. He always seemed to be eager to be done with the visit and to get back into his black 1936 Mercedes Benz with the bulletproof windows.

Now he has more self-assurance and listens closely. If there is a chart or map to be scanned, he will linger over it. At a proposed hydroelectric site in central Honshu, he traced a projected new river route with his index finger and then apologized to the construction foreman for having smudged the map. The foreman wept openly and fell to his knees in reverence.

In the beginning, the people Hirohito passed in the streets would turn their backs to him. He was, they still believed, too sacred, too brilliant to be gazed upon. He was, to give him his full title, the Magnanimous-Exalted, the Sublime Majesty, the Imperial Son of Dai Nippon (Great Japan).

Today his subjects bow slightly as he passes and then give him a direct, democratic looking over. He removes his homburg—usually a brown prewar import

from London—and returns the bow. If there happens to be an American in the crowd, the Mikado gives an extra nod. Correspondents whom he has come to recognize receive a smile. If photographers—Japanese included—shove their cameras and flashbulbs in his face, he doesn't mind. In fact he likes it. A special train for newsmen always precedes the imperial train.

Before the fiction of divinity was broken by Hirohito in his New Year's rescript, Japanese newspapers always carried news about him at the top of the page. Nothing was permitted above those stories. If his name appeared coincidentally in an article, the column was broken off so the august name would head the next column.

Most editorial comment expresses a belief that the liberalized imperial system can be in accord with democracy. Someday the question may be put to a referendum. Until that time, Charlie the Emperor is a cohesive force for keeping the people under control while the transformation from feudalism goes on.

Admittedly it has been convenient for MacArthur to retain Hirohito. There is always an inclination for the military to take the easy way to a goal if it means order or the appearance of order. While MacArthur in the beginning looked upon the imperial institution as a fixture which would be knocked down when the people had been psychologically readjusted, he has come to feel that Hirohito, although lacking in vigorous qualities of leadership, is about what the country needs. He is willing to traffic with him. He does not feel that once

we have withdrawn our military forces from Japan, the economic fascists will rally around the throne for their comeback. By the time the transformation of Japan is done, Hirohito or his successor will no longer be the possessor of 293,366 acres of land and the holder of 580,000 shares of stock in some of the largest of the Zaibatsu companies.

A Japanese scholar, Ko Masaki, writing in the magazine *Taihei*, commented recently: "Arguments of those who would retain the emperor are absurd. A few short months ago the same people were glorifying the perishing of a million people. Now they extol the emperor because he saved the lives of the people from destruction. This is contradictory and inconsistent. It is like a mother excusing the depravity of her child by saying the offspring is good and only the child's companions are bad."

An article in *Jimmin Hyoron* had these recommendations:

"Remove the emperor insofar as he is representative of the national regime. Let the existence of the imperial family be a separate problem to be decided by the people when Japan has been completely democratized."

Daigaku Shimibun, published at Tokyo Imperial University, is one of the magazines which criticize the Emperor in terms of his war guilt. "He should be held responsible not only morally but politically and legally," says the publication. "Eventually the controversy will narrow itself to a conflict between those who wish a rule by the majority and those who desire rule

by a small select group camouflaged by the imperial institution. That the masses rejoice at the personal appearances of the emperor is simply because the democratic revolution has only begun and political enlightenment of the people is still well behind the freedom which awaits them. We all know that the emperor signed the declaration of war with America. Certainly there is no more concrete proof of his war guilt. The fact that he was unable to resist the militarists shows that he is nothing more than a commonplace man lacking in courage and political astuteness. The fundamental objection to him is that such mediocrity assumes a position of the highest national responsibility."

Recognizing the possibility of imperial war guilt but not wishing to press any charges of that guilt is the magazine *Sandei Mainichi*, which prints an article recommending abdication. The writer, Shinnosuke Abe, suggests submitting the fate of the tenno system to a democratic plebiscite "in a few years."

"If such a plebiscite were held now," Abe wrote, "ninety-five per cent of the population would favor retention on the ground that a similarity exists between the emperor and the British king. Actually the public neither knows the history of the English monarchy nor how it functions. It must be made clear that thorough democracy has no use for either the tenno or the system which supports him. We must uproot these things."

It is apparent that the people and the press are actively debating the question which is as important as any other in modern Japan—shall the Emperor stay?

It is not generally known, but the Japanese planned to throw a steel ring of 125,000 suicide troops around Hirohito in a last-man fight among the mountains of central Honshu. I found a map of the labyrinthian hideaway in a dingy police station in the town of Matsushire. Questioning of police and natives disclosed that eighteen hundred Korean slave laborers and twelve hundred Japs worked for two years pouring cement, burrowing tunnels, and putting elaborate wooden paneling into air-conditioned rooms so that the Imperial family and general staff could live their last hunted days in comfort. Army officers who supervised the work insisted that the Berchtesgaden-like hideaway could have withstood atomic bombing.

In the program to strip Hirohito of his myth of godliness, few measures have been more important than MacArthur's abolition of government sponsorship and support of State Shinto, the religion fabricated by the warlords to promote Japan's attempt at world domination. The directive reaches into almost every home and affects almost every individual Japanese, freeing him from seventy-five years of moral and financial enslavement to an ideology which led him into war, defeat, suffering, and privation. Elimination of government control, together with other measures embodied in the directive, have the effect of completely abolishing State Shinto.

The directive—against which there have been few apparent violations—requires removal of all forms of Shinto rites, and frees all Japanese from any compul-

sion to believe in, or profess to believe in, Shinto. It places all forms of Shinto that contain no nationalistic or militaristic elements on an equal legal basis with all other forms of religion.

Shintoism, itself, dates from the dawn of Japanese history and was intimately associated with the mythology of the race. Meaning "the way of the Gods," Shinto was divided into two major classifications, State or Shrine Shinto, and Sect or Church Shinto. The whole history of Shinto was intimately interwoven with members of the Imperial family, real and mythological. As early as 1871 nationalists found in Shinto a purely Japanese religion which could be utilized to stabilize and protect native institutions against the destructive force of foreign ideologies. Extremists discovered that Shinto could provide justification for the place in the sun they were seeking and add ideological weight to the military side of the scales, tipping it against the peaceful elements in Japanese society and making the militarists the dominant force. To accomplish their purpose they first brought the priesthood of shrines under government control for appointment, support, discipline, and dismissal, and set up a systematic gradation of shrines on a pyramidal principle reaching from the local shrines up to the Grand Shrine of Ise. Then they began the "manufacture" of a religion, interweaving it with elements of the original Shinto.

They took the legend of divine descent of the Imperial family from the sun goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, and through school and other agencies attempted



to inculcate into Japanese minds the belief that the Emperor, as a direct descendant of the sun goddess, was an actual living God. As such, he was by divine right entitled to rule all lands and all peoples. They said that all Japanese were descended from one deity or another and therefore were superior to peoples of other lands and that the islands of Japan, themselves, were of divine origin and therefore better than other lands. Armed with these doctrines, the national government in 1875 drew up new rituals and ceremonies for use in officially recognized shrines. These provided minute directions, including texts, which could be varied only by special permit. The instructions were revised in 1914.

In 1882 all Shinto organizations were divided by law into two classes, Shrine Shinto (the new religion fostered by the state and still containing elements of original Shinto), and Sectarian, or Church Shinto (sects or churches which still followed their original tenets). In 1891 shrine priests were placed under the disciplinary regulations of ordinary civil officials of the state.

The most important factor in conditioning the people to acceptance of a Shinto-centered state was the education system. Here the Japanese government used a device cleverly calculated to bar all other such teachings from schools. First, in 1899, it issued an order forbidding the teaching of religion in public or private schools. Then, with all other religions thus out of the

schools, it declared State Shinto was not a religion and made its instruction compulsory in the schools.

Through textbooks, highly indoctrinated teachers, and deeply impressive ceremonies, all the threads of Shinto's nationalistic policies were drilled into the student's mind from the time he entered school until the finish of his formal education. In this way Shinto was made the principal instrument for inculcating submissiveness, loyalty to the state, and unquestioning acceptance of the official views as to the proper nature of society and of political and social morality.

Now State Shinto is dead.



“X” MARKS THE BALLOT

IT IS not difficult to make out a case of reactionism against the rightist government which Japan's 27,000,000 voters chose in the first free Diet election in history. Half of the Diet probably could be disqualified under a strict application of MacArthur's directive against ultra-nationalists and militarists. It is obvious that the four major political parties are being manipulated backstage by rascals who themselves have been prohibited from seeking office because of sympathies for monopoly and fascism.

In the opinion of many astute observers, MacArthur committed an error by letting the Japanese government itself carry out the application of the purge directive. Questionable candidates were thus permitted to run—and, in most cases, to be elected. The subsequent necessity for disqualifying some of the winners created

political confusion which delayed formation of the government and indicated to the nation at large that the occupation forces were lax in their watchfulness.

The American press, to its credit, played a part in keeping flat-faced Ichiro Hatoyama, democracy-hating president of the misnamed Liberal Party, from becoming prime minister after his election to the Diet. Correspondents Frank Robertson of International News Service, and Mark Gayn of the *Chicago Sun*, had learned that Hatoyama in 1938 wrote a book praising Hitler and Mussolini. This fact was brought to the attention of MacArthur's intelligence officers. Nothing happened. Hatoyama was permitted to campaign.

After Hatoyama's election, the Army refused to permit newsmen to see the personal history questionnaire which he, like all other candidates, had been required to fill out and submit to the Japanese government before being permitted to seek office. The newsmen suspected that Hatoyama might not have listed his book.

Despite objections by Colonel H. I. T. Cresswell, head of the Civil Intelligence Section, I went to the Home Ministry and asked to see the Ministry's files. The Japanese clerk in charge apparently thought I was a SCAP representative. He brought the files, including Hatoyama's questionnaire.

The book was unlisted.

Later MacArthur decided that Hatoyama was an undesirable person because:

1. As chief secretary of the Tanaka Cabinet from 1927 to 1929 he helped make possible the "terroriza-

tion, seizure and imprisonment of tens of thousands of adherents to minority doctrines advocating political, economic and social reform."

2. As minister of education from December, 1931, to March, 1934, he was "responsible for stifling freedom of speech . . . by mass arrests of teachers suspected of dangerous thoughts."

3. He participated in the forced dissolution of farmer-labor groups.

4. He upheld the China expansionist policy and, in 1942, publicly referred to the Pearl Harbor attack as "a fortunate and great victory."

It was the force of public opinion which caused MacArthur to disqualify Hatoyama, for, on March 29—almost two months previously—he had given the Far Eastern Commission this solemn assurance: "Every candidate for the new Diet, of whom there are over 3,000, has been screened for affiliation with militarism and ultranationalism."

It is fairly axiomatic that if you scratch a "good" Jap you will find that underneath he is a bad Jap. The explanation for this is that anyone who did not go along with Bushidoism suffered ostracism if nothing worse. However, a man so obviously disqualified for office should never have been allowed to aspire to office or to become head of Japan's largest party.

The same criticism applies in the case of Bukichi Miki, who was found to come under the purge directive after having been elected speaker of the house. When Miki went out, the Communists raised the cry that this

was evidence that the Potsdam Declaration, which pledged Japan a free government of its own choosing, was not being fulfilled.

Let us consider the qualifications of some other successful Diet candidates. Rikiro Hirano, for instance, a Social Democrat, once belonged to the extremely nationalistic Kodo-kai or Imperial Way Society, founded in 1935 to encourage "patriotic" activities by organizations of former servicemen. Kodo-kai's platform stressed "Oneness of soldier and farmer, expansion of armament to consummate national defense, and the attainment of international justice and equalization of material resources in the world."

Suyehiro Nishio, also a right-wing Social Democrat, who scored a resounding victory in Osaka, worked closely with Ryoichi Sasakawa, leader of the outlawed National Federation of Toilers and now under arrest as a war crimes suspect.

Closest scrutiny should be given the record of Susumu Nikaido to determine his activity with the Frontline Propaganda Unit which was under jurisdiction of the Japanese Naval General Staff. He is reported to have directed frontline propaganda warfare against the Allies at Rabaul.

Nor are the women members of the Diet entirely unsuspect. Miss Tenkoko Matsutani, elected from Tokyo's second electoral district on the Anti-Starvation League ticket, was with the Navy press section during the war and made lecture tours urging women to greater effort in factories.

The finger of doubt points also to one Haruji Tahara, a Social Democrat, who helped direct the colonization of New Guinea at the request of the Navy and is usually identified with the Indonesian independence movement.

Mitsu Kono, winner in Tokyo's second electoral district, is alleged to have once advocated dissolution of all labor unions. In 1941 he wrote in his book, *Politics in National Defense*, the following:

"Although Japan started the Manchurian incident, raising the torch for destruction of the old order, she did not bring about the world situation resulting to this end. It was caused by the Versailles Treaty and the world situation following World War I, in which Great Britain, the United States and France carried on forced rationalization of their world control and did not leave a stage for racial development and new, rising countries.

"The international economic conference held in London in July, 1933, in order to solve the world economic crisis ended in miserable failure because all the countries were egotistical and especially because the United States refused to co-operate.

"The color of defeat is very deep for Great Britain. . . . In order to assure our national strength we must change our ideals of liberalism, individualism, Communism, race, politics, economics and culture."

Another politician accused of rascality was Ichiro Kono, secretary-general of the Liberal Party and one-time member of the proscribed Imperial Rule Assist-

ance Political Society. During the 1940 Diet he made a speech which sounded like a demand for war against the United States. Reminded of this at a recent press conference, he described the speech as having been "interpellative" and actually not meaning what it sounded as though it meant.

"I pointed out," he explained, wiping the perspiration from his brow and squirming uncomfortably, "that the China affair should be settled as quickly as possible but that in order to settle it the Japanese government should conduct diplomatic negotiations *positively* with the United States and Great Britain, which were giving war supplies to the Chungking government. What I meant was that I believed we should endeavor to settle the China Affair through diplomatic negotiation.

"Moreover, I said that if the Japanese government failed to bend its all-out efforts on diplomatic negotiations and remained inactive, there would arise a situation in which war would become inevitable. I was merely trying to get the China Affair settled."

Well, perhaps the Konos-Ichiro and Mitsu—have really undergone an honest change of heart and now sincerely like democracy. There is a strong suspicion, however, that they are opportunists, political chameleons whose color changes with the backdrop.

All things considered, however, the election as a whole can be viewed as favorable because it was conducted under conditions of freedom which never existed previously. In future balloting, as the people become politically more astute and new leaders arise, the

results may be better. At least the first election was a beginning.

The Japanese press was caustic about the results, however. Observed *Shin Yukan*: "All existing political parties are led by old-school politicians and even the Communist Party resembles the militarists with its arbitrary self-assertion, violence and scheming. It lacks humanity and harmony. The more frequently our cabinet changes, the better."

Said the *Nippon Times*: "It cannot be denied that the cabinet is pretty much of a disappointment. Many of its members are of mediocre calibre and out of harmony with the times. It can be argued that any cabinet which so closely cleared the hurdle of the purge directive is hardly deserving of the support of true advocates of democracy." The paper, however, then added that the government deserved support for the time being because there were many things to be done.

Another day the *Times* had this to say:

"Of course there was no overwhelming victory for the revolutionary forces of democracy, and of course the remnants of the old conservative forces managed to retain their advantage. But considering the tremendous power which the old entrenched interests used to exercise until so recently and the short period of time in which the new forces of reform have had to spread their influence, the outcome of the election must be considered little short of astounding. The really significant fact is the vigorous growth in the power of the liberal elements like the Social Democratic Party. There is no

question that the old order is doomed and that the new liberal movement, though not yet in full tide, is sweeping on toward unprecedented levels."

MacArthur himself was enthusiastic about the outcome.

"Pure democracy," he said, "is inherently a spiritual quality which voluntarily must spring from the determined will of the people. It thus, if it is to become firmly rooted, may not be imposed upon a people by force, trickery or coercion. Nor is it a quality for barter or trade.

"All men since the beginning of time have had the smoldering desire to achieve democracy. Too few have had the unrestricted right to express that desire for it—and fewer still to achieve it.

"It was Lincoln who said, 'The people are wiser than their rulers.' The soundness of this statement is historically evident, and the Japanese people provide no exception.

"Given the opportunity for free expression of their popular will, they responded wholeheartedly and, rejecting leadership dedicated to the political philosophies of the two extremes—born of the right and of the left—which experience has shown inevitably lead to regimentation, they took a wide central course which will permit the evolvment of a balanced program of government designed best to serve their interests as a people.

"Democracy has thus demonstrated a healthy forward advance. It is for the newly elected representatives

of the people, in vindication of the faith of the electorate, now to consolidate and further that advance by developing a program of sound and constructive legislation."

The Communists had attempted to postpone the election because they would have liked more time for the spreading of their doctrines. The Russian member of the Far Eastern Commission, which sets the policy for the occupation of Japan, had caused the FEC to suggest to MacArthur that the election was being held too soon and would not reflect the true democratic wishes of the people.

Irritated, MacArthur told the FEC:

"The basis of occupational policy is the utilization of the Japanese government to the fullest extent, under SCAP supervision and control. This is only possible through a functioning legislative body ready to enact new laws required to implement SCAP directives and to provide for routine governmental business. The alternative is government by imperial edict, which denies to the Japanese people the right to participate in their own domestic affairs.

"Such emphasis on the power of the emperor would obviously be both undemocratic and unwise and would negate the basic principles envisaged at Potsdam, which we have proclaimed and are meticulously following.

"The present Diet is completely unsatisfactory because of its war taint and its unrepresentative character, having been elected in 1942 under Tojo's control . . . Every candidate for the new Diet, of whom

there are over 3,000, has been screened for affiliation or association with militarism and ultra-nationalism . . ."

How odd this last statement in view of the subsequent disqualification of Hatoyama and others!

The most remarkable aspect of the election was the response of the women. Exercising the franchise for the first time, they turned out in numbers that far exceeded the most liberal forecasts. They carried their babies with them to the polls. Some took along their food and spent the day chatting with neighbors outside the voting places. In one Tokyo ward, five aged women were carried to the ballot stalls in stretchers. The result was the election of twenty-three women to the 466-member Lower House!

There was some vote buying. Rice, instead of money, was the medium of purchase. But Army observers reported the practice was not widespread. Persons who prefer to consider Japanese politics with tongue in cheek remarked that the women of Japan voted for the candidates their husbands told them must be elected. However, no reasonable persons can accuse a Japanese man of favoring the election of the slave he knows as woman.

Exactly seventy-three per cent of the electorate cast their votes despite the handicaps of war-ruined transportation facilities. The previous all-time high at any Japanese election was 11,250,000 votes, as against the 27,000,000 this time; of course, in 1946 there were the votes of the women to be considered, and, in addition, the voting age limits had been broadened.

The new Diet included thirty-two teachers, twenty-two authors, thirteen physicians and forty-nine farmers, admittedly a broader representation of the people than in previous Diets. Of the ninety-three Progressives elected, seventy were newcomers; one hundred and two of the one hundred and thirty-nine Liberals likewise made their appearance for the first time. Independents in the old Diet totaled seventy-two while in the new Diet there were eighty-three, of whom seventy-eight were new faces. In all, three hundred and seventy-five of the four hundred and sixty-six members were described by SCAP as newcomers to active politics.

Despite Communist claims that large numbers of voters were disfranchised because of improper registration—which it was claimed stemmed from intention of the old gang politicians to control the balloting—actually less than four-tenths of one per cent of the electorate did not find their names on the registered lists.

Extensive precautions were taken to assure a fair election. Candidates and parties were limited on the amount of financial backing which could be given or received. Prefectural governments were prohibited from editing or censoring candidates' statements.

American troops visited the polls on election day but were under strict orders to do nothing that would give critics the right to say the election was conducted under the points of American bayonets. The checkup was not merely a cursory examination but included steps to see that all candidates were listed as required.

At most polls the Communists were unable to have

watchers on hand. There just weren't enough Communists available. The election of only five Communist candidates reflected the lack of interest in the party.

The problems confronting Japan are apparent from a study of the published promises of members of the cabinet formed after the election. Minister of Agriculture Hiroo Wada promised solution of transportation bottlenecks, increased production of farm implements and fertilizers, and efforts to accelerate food imports. Tanzan Ishibashi, the finance minister, advocated further restriction of bank withdrawals because of the inflationary trend. Others suggested growth of small business, a social security law patterned after that in the United States, educational reform, separation of the judicial police from the administrative police, and improved labor relations policies.

In the first Communist Diet speech in Japan's history, Kyuichi Tokuda, secretary-general of the Communist Party, bluntly described the Yoshida government as an enemy of the people and accused it of opposing democracy and of violation of the Potsdam Declaration's promise that the Japanese would be able to work out their own political rejuvenation. Tokuda, a firebrand who spent seventeen years in prison under the militarists, charged that the extreme nationalists still hold high office in Japan and are suppressing liberties of the people.

In June, 1946, two months after the regular Diet election, there was a runoff by-election in Tokyo's Second District. Ninety-eight per cent of the voters

failed to cast ballots. Three reasons were given for the high rate of abstention: Lack of an outstanding candidate, unseasonably warm weather—and a loss of interest in Diet affairs. There were those who felt that the last reason was the strongest.

The meaning of democracy is not quite clear to many Japanese. Thousands of them thought, until MacArthur issued a statement correcting the misimpression, that democracy was the same as Communism. One of the clearest interpretations of Japanese thought appeared in the newspaper *Chiba Shimbun*: "The reason Japan cannot understand democracy is that we cannot throw off the idea of hero worship and the feudalistic concept of bowing to the stronger, both of which have taken deep root in the Japanese national character. The deeper the consciousness of individuality becomes, the more will the people understand democracy.

"The centripetal force with which the old people cling to the maintenance of the status quo is still strong, and the centrifugal force of the young people is not strong in spite of superficial brilliance."

Speaking of the democratization problem from a rural standpoint, the *Niigata Nippo* said: "A true national democratization should start from the nameless small towns and villages and not from the central metropolis, because the national organization can be possible only if it has a sound foundation." The *Kobe Shimbun* concurred, saying that the "democratization

of Japan will mainly be achieved through the modernization of semi-feudal agrarian communities."

Nipponkai, expressing what many Japanese feel, said: "We want a democracy which suits Japan, not one patterned after the American or Soviet style. However, if Japanese democracy proves to be nothing but Nipponistic thought with new, modern clothing, liberty and the rights of the people, which have been granted as a result of defeat, will again be devoured by the privileged class."

Busy as an Oriental termite these days is Kyuichi Tokuda, the Japanese "Lenin," whom MacArthur considers the most dangerous man in Japan. The time is ripe, he says, to lead the people down the left branch of the road. I found the secretary-general of the Japanese Communist Party in a drafty stone building on the outskirts of Tokyo. He was wearing an American Army sweater and smoking American cigarettes. He didn't say where he got them, but he did say that he was indeed happy to be free after seventeen years of running the Communist underground from a cold prison cell on the northern island of Hokkaido.

As Tokuda talked, in a room heated only by a hat-sized electric grill, there could be heard the hum of printing presses and the buzz of voices as his helpers in adjoining rooms turned out pamphlets and press releases.

Tokuda, sixty-three, admitted that the membership of his party totaled only about six thousand but he

saw nothing wrong in the fact that despite this small membership it had become the most painful thorn in the side of the occupation forces and had, in fact, been accused of sabotaging the occupation.

Tokuda said he wanted Hirohito removed from office. He conceded that the dethronement might cause "a little trouble in the form of riots" but that the people would quickly calm down when they saw that somebody—meaning the Communists—was sincerely trying to help them.



WHITECAPS ON THE MOAT

THERE is a report, popular among Toyko correspondents, that when the wind is from off the night soil honey-pots and there are whitecaps on the moat, General MacArthur is able to walk upon the waters.

Be that as it may, nothing that ever happened at the Tokyo Correspondents' Club ever caused as much excitement as a caricature of The Chief treading the waters while wearing Japanese *geita* (wooden sandals). It was painted by Gordon Currie, an irrepressible Australian, and displayed at the club's opening dance—an affair, incidentally, which The Chief avoided although he was to have been the principal guest.

What made the caricature doubly intriguing was that in one corner was a sketch of Larry Tighe, ABC announcer, firing a torpedo at the water-strolling general. That very day Tighe had been accused in an official

news release of drinking bad Japanese liquor. Tighe, it seems, had broadcast a report that MacArthur would retire.

Ineptness has always characterized MacArthur's press relations. A highly sensitive and egotistical man, MacArthur cannot stand criticism. Anyone who disagrees with him is automatically a renegade if not a sickle-swinging Communist. Although official censorship is ended, MacArthur has his press officers maintain close scrutiny over clippings on stories which the corps sends.

Anyone who does not worship at the general's altar is cold-shouldered by the hierarchy. "Specials," as the men who represent independent publications are called, are the least welcome because they are the ones who do the interpretive pieces, whereas the wire association reporters are restricted by the services' comparatively strict insistence on straight reporting.

One man who did a story saying MacArthur used hair dye was, perhaps purely coincidentally, scratched from the list of those eligible for dependents' housing. When William H. Newton, United Press correspondent, reported that MacArthur's generals and colonels were fat-catting in mansions, even though they had no dependents, while junior officers had to crowd their families into two-apartment quonset huts and share communal toilets, MacArthur had his public relations chief personally report on Newton's background and other activities. Newton, by then, had left the theater and gone to China. The press chief, then Brigadier

General Frayne Baker, onetime North Dakota real estate salesman, remarked to another newsman, "You fellows are always asking for favors, and then you pull something like that."

For months, the most hated man in all of Manila, which is part of MacArthur's command, was the Associated Press' Hal Boyle, who had the audacity to write of admirals and generals who lived in manor houses manned by twenty houseboys. Boyle should have put more emphasis on a PRO colonel and his aide, a major, who were allocated a hilltop mansion, with swimming pool, so they could entertain VIPs (very important persons).

In six months, however, the colonel, who used to be a St. Louis police reporter, and the major entertained only six VIPs. The pair appeared to have dedicated themselves to interfering with the gathering of news. One morning Robert Okin, *Time* correspondent, was stricken with appendicitis. He telephoned for transportation to the hospital but was told there was none available, despite the fact that four brand new jeeps which had been allocated to press officers to help in getting out the news were standing idle outside press headquarters.

Wayne Richardson, AP reporter, continually bemoaned the brand of thinking which assumed that every time a newsman asked the PRO to get him a piece of information the story automatically became common property and could be distributed in a general release.

During the fighting for Manila, it was scuttle-butted among the troops that they must never put pin-up pic-

tures on the walls of the Manila Hotel because Mrs. MacArthur owned fifty per cent of the property and Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, of MacArthur's staff, owned the other half. Months later, in Tokyo, the Supreme Commander saw fit to deny officially that he or his family or staff had holdings in the Philippines.

Gwen Dew, who represents fifteen newspapers including the *Detroit News*, protested to Baker one day against being billeted six miles from her office in Radio Tokyo. Baker made a disparaging remark about there being no need for women reporters in the theater and that they were of more nuisance than value. Miss Dew, who is normally as placid as a *Detroit News* editorial, retorted that such a remark might be expected from an officer representing a man who barred women correspondents from his theater during the war but nevertheless kept his wife, who is sixteen years his junior, with him throughout the campaign. Baker almost ran her out of the office and they never spoke a civil word to each other thereafter.

It is a MacArthur policy to see each correspondent before the correspondent leaves for home. This is supposed to be a vast treat for the newsman, who is cautioned and recautioned that the interview is entirely off the record. The writer is treated to an uncomfortable half hour of profile gazing which is climaxed by the presentation of an autographed photo of The Chief. Bill Costello, of CBS, made the mistake, after his interview, of merely mentioning in a broadcast that he had seen The Chief. Thereafter Costello was *persona non*

grata. So much so, in fact, that it partially influenced his decision to establish his Far Eastern headquarters in China instead of Japan.

Withal, MacArthur is a great man, even though an oversensitive one. His personal bravery is unsurpassed although the showmanship with which he displayed it was ridiculed by those who saw in the sloppy-brimmed hat, sunglasses, corncob pipe, and ankle-wetting landings on Pacific beachheads poorly disguised affectation. It is reported among newsmen that MacArthur is convinced of his divine destiny and that no harm can come to him until his mission—the reclamation of the Japanese—is accomplished. He also is a person with a fine sense of news timing. This was proved when on the eve of May Day he announced flatly to the world that a Communist plot to assassinate him with grenades and knives had been uncovered. Correspondents suspected skullduggery in that such an announcement of such a plot could have been announced on any one of eight occasions prior to the big pre-May Day *denouement*. This suspicion became even stronger when the officer to whom further queries were referred, Colonel H. I. T. Cresswell, professed ignorance of details although his Civil Intelligence Section was the department charged with the investigation and *exposé*. Cresswell said he had nothing to prove the reliability of the plot informant and that, frankly, he was somewhat surprised by failure of the release, which Baker wrote, to qualify the Communist accusation in the handout.

It was on the exciting night following revelation of

the purported plot that an incident occurred which may or may not prove that such big news upsets the calm judgment of the high-priced writers who report the news. Sitting in the dining room of the Press Club were Jack Smyth of Reuters and Fred Sparks of *Look*. Morrie Landsberg of the AP passed by and Smyth commented that Landsberg was opening a stall on the Ginza, which is Tokyo's Broadway, to sell surplus Army electric-light sockets. Jen-Chung Chang, who reports for the *China Central Daily News*, overheard the remark. The next day the newspapers of China carried a report that although Chinese businessmen were not then permitted entry into Japan, American correspondents on the scene were exploiting their advantage. Landsberg, who never got closer to merchandising than the innocent trading of a few kimonos among friends, was considerably embarrassed by the reaction and blamed it on the uncertainty of the times.

It was about that time, too, that Alfred Eisenstadt, the *Life* photographer, was told by a friendly group of compatriots that the Japanese were so hungry they had taken to eating flowers. Eisenstadt insisted this was impossible. Finally George Silk, another *Life* photographer, took a flower from the table and, salting it, went through the motions of eating. He smacked his lips. Eisenstadt, by then impressed, also grabbed a flower, salted it, ate it, and agreed with Silk that roses were delicious.

It was the same beloved and eccentric Eisenstadt who caused high confusion in the Press Club kitchen by

insisting that he be served hot oranges for breakfast. It is Eizzy, too, who can stand erect and then fall flat on his stomach without using his hands to check the fall. He also is remembered by Clinton Green, of *The New York Times*, for having refused to believe an airplane could be called a B-17 unless it had seventeen engines.

There was one Tokyo correspondent, representing a Boston newspaper, who left Japan never quite knowing that he had been hoaxed. Someone had bribed a Japanese into slipping the correspondent a tip that Adolf Hitler was hiding out in the Japanese Alps. The correspondent spent five days running down the clues. When he returned, his reportorial interests were again whetted. This time he was told that Amelia Earhart, whose disappearance has never been satisfactorily solved, was keeping house for Adolf. But by then the reporter had received orders to return to the States.

There is an old reportorial belief that if you get hold of an incredible story you can give it stature by feeding it to other correspondents. This was worked most effectively when six correspondents reported, in all seriousness, the discovery of a man whose rights to the Imperial throne had more legality than those of Hirohito himself.

The hatred for Brigadier General (now Colonel) LeGrand Diller, MacArthur's wartime press relations chief, still lingers in the hearts of correspondents. As with many another officer close to MacArthur, Diller idolized The Chief. He it was who advised censors to

encourage the use of MacArthur's name in the first paragraph of every news release, because the news thereby would be greatly enhanced, said Diller. He it was who told his PROs not to associate with the reporters on a social level. He, too, who approved the communique that said Manila had fallen and firing had ceased, although the reporters to whom the communique was handed in the press camp five miles from downtown Manila could plainly hear the 105s still banging away at the Japs who were fighting to the messy end. When censorship was lifted following the war's end, Diller was driven out of his job by a vitriolic attack from the reporters who had fumed at his arbitrary and high-handed methods for three bitter years.

When Diller stepped out, General Baker moved in to try to win the press over to the boss's cause. To his job Baker brought the smooth ways of politician and real estate salesman. But Baker's policy was to promise much, do little, and swear to God that MacArthur would be happy to have the Russians send troops to share the occupation policework—if only they would consent to let their troops be commanded by somebody besides a Russian.

An American correspondent who was writing a book to be published in Japan went to Baker and asked if the general thought MacArthur might be willing to write a preface. It was to be the first book on contemporary Japan and MacArthur might like to use it as a sounding board to impress the Japanese, the author suggested.

Baker agreed that it was a good idea.

Days, weeks, and months went by, with Baker constantly promising to obtain the preface. Finally the day came when lack of the preface was holding up publication. Baker then told the correspondent to go ahead and write the preface himself and submit it to Baker, who would approve it and pass it on to MacArthur—presumably as something Baker himself had written. The next day the preface was returned to the correspondent with all but two innocuous sentences deleted.

"The Chief," said Baker, "says he can't do any more than that. I talked it over with him and his decision is final."

Two weeks later the correspondent had one of the sacrosanct valedictory interviews which MacArthur grants to homeward bound correspondents. The correspondent mentioned his disappointment at what had happened to the preface. The General professed complete ignorance and said he had never seen the blue-penciled copy. Baker, who was at the interview, blushed.

One of the better stories of the early postwar days was the suicide of Prince Fumimaro Konoye, three times prime minister and founder of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The Prince's exit was announced at nine o'clock on a tired Sunday morning to a handful of sleepy press association men. Baker made no effort to see that a general announcement of such a momentous event was made to the press corps as a whole. One reporter who happened to be out of the Radio Tokyo newsroom enjoying his morning toilet

when Baker made his whispered disclosure missed the story entirely until eight o'clock that night. Baker just laughed away the reporter's challenge of such inconsiderate neglect.

Frank Kelley, of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Lindesay Parrott, *The New York Times*' able correspondent, went into a huddle after Konoye had gulped the carbolic and came forth with a song that for months was the Press Club theme. Written in Parrott's room—which came to be known as “the snake pit”—this was the song:

THE SHINTO HIT THE FAN

*Prince Konoye in his foyer
Took some poison when his lawyer
Said, “MacArthur'd like to speak to you.”
But Japanese will please digress
From slitting bellies when the press
Is resting in its nest in Tokyo.*

*If you must take poison,
Please first make a noise an'
Ask the boys to come to see the show.
Ah-soo!*

*Now there comes a new directive
Given hot without invective—
This is it,
The Shinto's hit the fan.*

Most of the officers now in Japan never heard a shot fired. They sometimes are described as the type who

loved to be with the troops—through the medium of field glasses. However, these officers have a legitimate complaint against the hiring by the Army of civilian personnel at tremendous salaries to do the work which the officers perform for comparative pittances. In the SCAP Economic and Scientific Section there used to be a civilian who drew \$10,000 a year for being familiar with statistics on food. One day he told this reporter that 500,000 tons of Japanese army and navy food had been turned over to the Japanese civilian population. Into the office as he gave these figures walked one of his assistants. The assistant said the total was closer to 6,000,000 tons. "Ridiculous," said the \$10,000 man.

So the assistant went out and fetched the record books, which supported his 6,000,000-ton estimate. Later, however, a study of public relations office files showed that on April 17, 1946, the Army had announced officially that 10,500,000 tons of army-navy food had been turned over. There is a considerable difference between 500,000 tons (the "expert's" estimate) and 10,500,000 tons. The "expert" is now back in Washington in another government job—as an "expert."

The "baiting" of the Russians sometimes becomes almost a game with the men around MacArthur.

When the British observed Empire Day, Brigadier General Whitney, the notoriously thin-lipped head of SCAP's Government Section, was invited to the British Embassy to taste the scotch and hors d'oeuvres. Also among the two hundred leading diplomats and officers

present was Lieutenant General Kuzma Derevyanko, who as Soviet member of the Allied Council is the ranking Russian in Japan. Derevyanko is a giant of a man, six feet tall with oxlike shoulders, a brush haircut, and a size eighteen neck. His white full-dress military jacket stood out against the mingled khakis and blues. Derevyanko is an intense party-goer whose specialty is the toasting of everything from the quality of the boiled ham to the color of the nearest woman's stockings. After two hours of such toasting at the Embassy party, he wandered across the main ballroom to shake hands with Whitney, who at the meetings of the Allied Council had opposed every suggestion made by the Soviet delegation.

Through an interpreter, Derevyanko said, "General, let us drink to international friendship."

The glasses were raised:

"General," said Whitney, "I'll drink to friendship or to a fight."

Derevyanko, his glass raised, hesitated. "But I didn't mention fighting," he said.

"Well," continued Whitney, "that's what our country stands for. We'll fight you if that seems necessary."

Derevyanko reddened. "I too know how to fight," he said. "But let us drink."

The glasses were emptied and the General shook hands all around. Then he left the party.

Derevyanko is not the only Russian in Japan who accepts party invitations. Members of his delegation can be found in American Army billets nightly. Always,

it seems, the American and Russian celebrants get around to a comparison of abilities.

At the Dai-Iti Hotel, Colonel G. H. Forst, assistant executive officer of SCAP's G-1 Section, invited three Russians into his room for cocktails before dinner. Forst is blessed with a double-jointed finger on his left hand. The finger can be bent almost straight back. When Forst showed this to the Russians, they were fascinated. They gathered around Forst, felt of the finger and were amazed. Finally one of them said, "Ah, if American can do that, Russian can do it too." Whereupon he grabbed his own index finger and bent it back.

The finger broke.

There is another story about Russo-American relations at the Dai-Iti. It seems that an American officer declared loudly one Saturday night that Americans were better than Russians because Americans could fly like birds. Whereupon—at least according to the story—he leaped out the window and landed in a tree. Not to be outdone, a Russian officer leaped out, too. But he landed on the sidewalk and had to go to the hospital. There is only one thing wrong with that story. There isn't a tree within two blocks of the Dai-Iti.

The loudest apologists for the Japanese are the old Japan-hands who reported the news before the war. They are quick to forgive, even though some of them suffered at the hands of the extremists. Burton Crane of *The New York Times*, for instance, once wrote a laudatory article about Ichiro Hatoyama at the time when it appeared that the flat-faced leader of the right-

ist Liberal Party would become prime minister. Crane knew that Hatoyama's record was suspect but, unlike some other reporters, he was inclined to blame the criticism on leftist agitators who he believed were attempting to upset the smooth workings of government. When MacArthur eventually unhorsed Hatoyama right out of politics, Crane was chagrined, but he took the hootings and catcalls in his usual good-natured manner.

What might have developed into an international incident occurred one night when a beer bottle was thrown through a window of the Russian billet across the alley from the club. The following morning, five Russians trooped into the club lobby demanding that the culprit be punished. He was never found.

The small incidents at the Press Club, the big gripes and little gripes, the attitudes toward the men in the saddle who are helping MacArthur to run his show in Japan reflect the undercurrents which are shaping governmental forces today in a land where Charlie the Emperor beams and bows and busy little Tokuda schemes for the day when the Communists can take over the Diet.



THE LURKING BEAR

THE Japanese are deeply interested in the uncertainty of U. S.-Soviet relations and the belief among MacArthur's men that Russia is trying to sabotage the occupation.

They know that any split between the two great powers would put Japan in a better bargaining position and that her aid and favor would then be sought by both sides. All things considered, they would rather see the United States triumph.

Although there has been no overt attempt to impair Russo-American accord, press comments occasionally indicate that not all the unrepentant militarists have given up hope.

"Speculation on a possible clash is a product of wishful thinking," said the magazine *Sekai Hyoron*. The editorial then minimized the difficulties between Russia

and the United States and positively affirmed that Japan's lot lies with peace. But the fact that the magazine saw fit to mention the "wishful thinking" certainly implied that some Japanese are hoping for war.

The magazine *Jimmin Hyoron* runs frequent symposiums on international affairs. Says one observer: "Rumors that there will be war may be heard among former servicemen and the unreconstructed war capitalists who have not yet awakened from the dark dreams of conquest. They hope to rise again."

Within the limits of the liberal censorship which the occupation forces maintain, the press is permitted fairly free discussion. Editorial writers are aware of the social, political, and cultural differences between Russia and America. They are permitted to state their preferences and to say why. But the comparisons are not generally invidious. Actually, comments on American beliefs and customs are generally so favorable as to be almost sycophantic. One of the favorite commentators is Teizo Taira, a Hosei University professor. He writes:

"Japan belongs to the Anglo-Saxon sphere at present, not only because she was defeated by America but because she has had, and has, to depend on America if she intends to remain a capitalist nation.

"Our commercial and industrial activities are wholly at the mercy of America, both now and in the future, when Japan will again wish to take part in full international trade."

Although the scramble for rice and a place to live in-

spires a majority of editorials, there is usually room for one which maintains that Japan is a nation among nations and must take an active part in co-operative efforts toward world security. It is evident that Japan wants to re-enter the family of nations on an equal basis. "The earth is one and human beings living on this globe are one," writes Ei Watanabe in *Shinjin*. He praises the United Nations Organization and predicts steady progression toward the world state.

"Japan will be a member of this government," he concludes, "not as a tiny independent island country but as a nation possessing the role of a local organization in the body politic of the world."

Japan's editorial writers appear to be fascinated by Russian productivity, the new "plans" and the success of the government in stimulating industrial and agricultural output. Typically, Toyo Keizai Shimpō wrote:

"Russia's great decision to go much farther than just recover from war damage in the last five years is a matter of great astonishment. Russia must be eager to have world peace."

Concerning the question of what is democracy, the tendency is to assert that Russia, too, is democratic but that her democracy differs from the Anglo-Saxon brand in that it is based on the government's concern with the welfare of the people rather than on popular control of government. Another point is that many writers, recognizing the difference between Russian and Anglo-Saxon institutions, believe firmly that Japan must for the present adhere to the Anglo-Saxon pattern.

Japan's failure to go to the extreme left at the first free election in the empire's history is partly understandable if one studies the previously mentioned letters which have been taken from Japanese mails. The consensus indicates strong distrust and hatred of and for the Communist line. This stems in part from Russia's wartime and present policies as they have been viewed from Japan and in part from the Soviet Union's reported mistreatment of Japanese in occupied areas. The Japanese do not forget that Russia stabbed her in the back when she was being beaten into the ground.

"I am sorry that we Japanese were loyal to Russia until we were defeated," one Japanese said. "So long as the Soviet exists, peace will never come to the world. The Soviets are churlish and always ready to take advantage of us."

Imperial sources estimate that more than 3,000,000 Japanese are in Russian-occupied areas. "It may be the privilege of the victorious country, but it is certainly barbarous and inhuman to make slaves of war prisoners in the twentieth century," a Japanese wrote to a Tokyo editor. "Some day these Japanese will be massacred for the maintenance of the national secrets of Russia. Our people in Sakhalin (Karafuto), Manchuria, and the Kuriles are indeed to be pitied."

I saw a plea sent by a resident of Wakkanai, on the island of Hokkaido, who wanted information from SCAP about relatives on Sakhalin. "Here at the northern end of Japan," he said, "we can see Sakhalin in fine weather. It must be hard there. Some active men among

the Japanese defy the dangers and go there. Like pirates, they steal food behind the backs of the Russians. If caught, they undergo horrible experiences."

A Japanese paper reported, when Russo-American tension was at its height, that a resident of Hokkaido wrote to a Tokyo friend, asking that the friend send him a supply of ropes and straw mats so he could pack his furniture and ship it to a safer area when war broke out.

Rumors flooded Tokyo, too. I met a Japanese who had heard that "one hundred and fifty planes of MacArthur's headquarters recently raided Russian territory." Some Japs began to redig air shelters.

Construction activity was interpreted by some as indicating the approach of war. One alarmist wrote to a friend: "We are now working on the expansion of American airfields at three different places. We are rebuilding barracks and repairing roads. American officers come to us almost daily urging speed in our work. Anyone can see that they expect trouble. Well, let us enjoy the sight of the fighting, standing aside. It would be a pleasure to fight for Japan but not for America."

Although such alarmists are few in numbers, their words find ready ears among the confused and restless Japanese. The new habits of peace are slow in coming.



BUSINESSMEN UN- WANTED

THE heyday of the old time foreign exporter-importer in Japan is done, at least for years to come. As presently prescribed, all foreign trade is channeled through semi-official Japanese agencies which acquire the goods to be exported and deal directly with Allied Headquarters. For the handling of imports, the process is reversed. There is no place in this tight setup for the middleman who privately arranges sales and purchases abroad.

Most exports have thus far been drawn from Japanese stockpiles on hand when the war ended. There is not enough manufacturing under way to replenish those reserves. When reparations are collected, Japan's industry will suffer a further blow. Obviously in this Potsdam-ordered minimum economy, no one is going to have a commissionman's Roman holiday.

The thousands of foreign nationals who once prospered in Japan are, to say the least, perturbed. So are an estimated two hundred traders poised in Shanghai waiting for unrestricted permission to move into Japan—a permission which is going to be a long time coming. The pressure against MacArthur and the eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission in Washington to reopen the country is mounting. But the General, looking out of his office window in the Dai Ichi Building, can see miles upon miles of devastation and ruin. Japan, he feels, has nothing. There is no room, he says, for foreign exploitation. Controls are essential.

There are outcries of economic strangulation from foreign traders who saw their businesses confiscated during the war and who, in many cases, were imprisoned when they protested. For instance, a peppery little Frenchman named Joseph Levy, who runs the Osaka-Kobe Foreign Chamber of Commerce, put on his jaunty blue beret one day and went storming up from Kobe to protest loudly to American officials. He said that most members of the Boeki Cho, the Japanese Board of Trade which handles all goods marked for export, are of the Mitsui family of Zaibatsu. They are, he said, giving preference to the large corporations which belong to trade associations known as Kumiasis.

"Orders," said Levy, "are being given in proportion to past turnover—and because they were the only ones who operated during the war, they are the ones who get the bulk of the orders.

"The Chamber of Commerce insists that this scheme

bears a striking resemblance to the setup which was enforced preparatory to the war, when control was exercised by the Koeki Eidan (Trade Management Corporation) and its satellite trade associations.

"That wartime setup resulted in the practical and deliberate elimination of foreign merchants from participation in foreign trade and also created other conditions detrimental to foreign interests.

"We cannot but view with alarm the Japanese government's intention of retaining practically unchanged a system of export control which produced such disastrous consequences to foreign interests in Japan.

"No concrete provision for rehabilitation or protection of foreign commercial interests appears to have been made in the scheme.

"Mere removal of some wartime restrictions alone does not automatically reinstate foreign merchants in their prewar status so long as certain other regulations, notably the allocation of orders in proportion to past turnover, are retained in their present form.

"The trade organizations are merely the old ones with a daub of camouflage. They have the power to recommend and submit for export whatever lots they choose from among those submitted to members of the guilds."

MacArthur has ordered dissolution of the Koeki Eidan. All its stocks are now being delivered to Boeki Cho. Levy, who represents Strong & Company, a British firm which had the largest prewar export business in Japan, insists that bookkeeping accounts of Koeki

Eidan put a false value on foreign goods seized by the Japanese.

"After the China Emergency," Levy recalls, "all foreign merchants had to join trade associations in order to carry on business. On July 28, 1941, all foreign assets were frozen. After Pearl Harbor, all stocks held by merchants were 'mobilized' and quickly taken over.

"The trade associations resold those stocks at high profits. The money was squandered by the directors. There were large donations to military authorities in order to retain good will. For instance, the Japan Textile Export Association (Nippon Menshifu Yushutsu Kumiai) gave 1,000,000 yen to a fund for building army airplanes. From that association alone the merchants of Kobe and Osaka demand a refund of 84,715,000 yen."

Pierre Saint-Loup is a tall, gray-haired Frenchman who was put in prison on fictitious charges of economic espionage. He represents the Air Liquide Company, of Paris, which the Japs began attempting to drive out in 1931. They made the company use a Japanese name, Teikoku Sanso K.K., and to allow Japanese to buy a majority of stock. When there was some reluctance to go along, a smiling Jap called at the main office in Kobe one day and said he was sorry but because of unexpected demands on the hydroelectric facilities, it might be necessary to cut off the power supply. Also, there had been reports of safety rule violations in the factory.

Air Liquide was startled to find its products imitated and sold under Air Liquide's trademark. When Saint-

Loup protested, he was brusquely told that he couldn't complain, because the Japanese-made products actually tended to advertise the legitimate goods. This same story was given to managers of such concerns as RCA-Victor, Dunlop, Nestlé's, Westinghouse, Ford, and General Electric.

Levy wants MacArthur to force the Japanese to pay royalties on the seized patents. He wants manufacturers who insist that their records were burned during air raids to prove it.

In a blocked account at the Yokohama Specie Bank is approximately 600,000,000 yen (\$40,000,000 at the American Army's arbitrary exchange rate of fifteen to one). It represents what the Japanese say they received for the open market sale of foreign properties taken over under the Enemy Property Control Law in 1941. Obviously those sales were made at bargain prices.

Today, applications are being taken here and in Washington on claims for recovery of the properties. Until those applications have all been filed, it is difficult to attempt any evaluation of foreign holdings. As an example of how prices have varied in recent years, D. H. Blake, chief of the foreign property division of the Civil Property Custodian's Office, tells of building a home in Tokyo before the war for 30,000 yen.

In 1942 the house, then ten years old, was liquidated by the Japanese custodian for 33,000 yen. That amount was deposited in Blake's account against the day when he might—or might not—return to Japan.

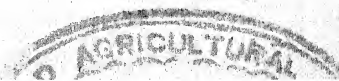
Today Blake's former house is worth, at current in-

flated values, 200,000 yen. Blake is reclaiming the house, but the question to be decided is whether he should pay the present occupant, who bought it from a man who died intestate, 33,000 yen, 30,000 yen, or 200,000 yen. If by chance Blake should decide to keep the yen now in his account, he could not convert it to American dollars because international exchange is not now allowed. That problem is a simplified example of what foreigners with claims against Japanese face.

When the Far Eastern Commission visited Japan, it was told that there were very obvious mistakes in reports concerning activity by foreign property custodians. Those reports are now being carefully resurveyed.

It is difficult to find an American in Japan who hasn't been approached by the Japanese with a business proposition of one kind or another. Most of the busy little people are looking forward to resumption of general trade and they want contact men to represent them in the United States. Military personnel about to go home are much sought-after. Usually there is an invitation to dinner, a few rounds of warm sake are served, and then casually there is mention of Japan's business future. There may be small or large "presentoes," which of course Army and Navy men are not allowed to accept. Occasionally a parent will bring in the family's best-looking daughter and give her to the visitor for the remainder of his stay.

Take the case of Lieutenant Commander Daniel J. Bergen, a onetime Pottsville, Pennsylvania, newspaper



man. Bergen flew to Tokyo on Navy business and had no sooner checked into a Tokyo billet than he was invited to dinner at the home of a wealthy Japanese. Sure enough, before the evening was over he had been asked to find out how much silk Philadelphia would need in the first six months after things opened up. Bergen declined to become involved.

There is one Army lieutenant who has been negotiating with local furniture manufacturers for household equipment for the families of occupation troops. All sorts of offers have been thrown his way. He expects to be discharged soon, but one day he'll be back to work—at \$20,000 a year—for one of Japan's largest import-export concerns. No contract has been signed, because there then would be evidence of dealing with the enemy, but the lieutenant has made connections which will be worth a fortune to him.

For almost a year, approximately \$8,000,000 more was sent home in money orders each month than was paid by the Army to troops in Japan, Korea, and Okinawa. To get those money orders, the purchaser turned in Japanese yen and swore that the money came from pay and allowance. The conversion from yen to dollar instruments meant that the United States Treasury had to make good. In other words, the \$8,000,000 was a direct charge on the American people who thus were made to finance illicit dealings.

The army thinks that most of the \$8,000,000 overage came from sale of army goods to the Japanese. To check this, the troops are now paid in military scrip

which must be used instead of yen at Army post exchanges, clothing stores, etc.

A lieutenant colonel stopped at the finance office in Allied General Headquarters and converted \$1,500 worth of yen. When a clerk was entering this conversion on his card—records are kept of all money order issuances—she noticed that in the preceding month he had bought \$4,500 worth of money orders. She notified the officer in charge of the office and he, in turn, had the military police intercept the lieutenant colonel at the Fourth Replacement Depot and bring him in for questioning. The officer gave back \$5,000 in cash which he had on his person and promised to refund another \$1,000 when he reached the United States. No immediate decision was made to prosecute him.

ON TOKYO'S GINZA, the Broadway of Japan, a new three-wheeled truck goes chugging past. It is loaded with rubber boots and raincoats.

An oxcart pulls up to the curb. The cart is carrying metal velocipedes. They are quickly unloaded and placed on sale.

Street hawkers are selling weird toys that whirl through the air with a wild flapping of paper wings.

Wartime charcoal burners are being unbolted from automobiles which can now obtain gasoline in expanding quantities.

Traffic lights are back in operation. So are the elevators in office buildings.

Table lamps are on display in the stores. Phonograph

records are available. The black market price of shoes has dropped. A shiny new locomotive can occasionally be seen hauling a string of repainted coaches. Lumber is available for fifteen thousand very small homes and five thousand other new buildings this month.

As I write this, one hundred barefooted carpenters, who have been hammering madly near my window since dawn and who will be at it until darkness, are reroofing a burned-out office building which is a good half-block long. Soon the gravity-defying workmen will put on tile shingles.

All of these things indicate that Japan is starting to recover from the industrial and economic paralysis which set in after the end of hostilities. The recovery is slow but the trend is evident. Characteristic Jap industriousness has not changed.

The pattern of the recovery, of course, is limited by that part of the Potsdam Declaration which reads, "Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war."

Until the reparations bill has been paid and Japan's import privileges also delineated, the nation's industrial planning is spotty. Manufacturers are reluctant to reopen closed factories until they know precisely which machines will be taken from them. This breeds unemployment. Near the top of the reparations list are the gas and electric industries. The latter, virtually undamaged by war, is operating at eighty per cent of its

full wartime peak. China, Korea, and the Philippines are getting a generous apportioning of the generation facilities.

Lee R. Fleming, chief of the export-import division of SCAP's Economic and Scientific Section, outlined the trade picture when he told the Allied Council that imports are effected only when they fall within the minimum essential requirements needed to prevent famine and disease or when raw materials are urgently needed to manufacture goods for export or to produce materials for the occupation forces.

"Available exports," said Fleming, "are programmed in ratio to Japan's prewar trading pattern. The exceptions to this policy are (a) exports which are in world short supply and have been allocated by a combined committee in Washington to countries which have stated requirements and are able to purchase their allotments on terms agreeable to the supplying nations, and (b) exports which are directly bartered for essential imports."

Japan has been averaging a foreign trade balance of \$24,000,000 every six months since business was resumed. Exports consist mainly of raw silk, coal, mining supplies and equipment, mulberry seedlings, silkworm eggs, and miscellaneous light manufactures. Imports have been chiefly food, medical supplies, phosphate rock, petroleum products, and salt. The United States has been the chief customer.

In all cases, says Fleming, it is expected that exports will be paid for either in stable currencies or equivalent

values of required materials. There is no exception to the policy that all exports must be paid for and the proceeds used to purchase essential imports. No customs duty is being collected by the Japanese on imports or exports. On certain petroleum products a small charge has been added for the purpose of bringing the price of the import into line with the existing official price.

Japanese shipping, including a few American bottoms manned by Japanese crews, is being used exclusively for trade between Japan and Asiatic areas. When convenient, this shipping is used also to move excess U. S. Army subsistence items to Japan from Allied occupied Pacific island areas.

Earmarked for reparations are four hundred and forty aircraft factories, ninety-one army and navy arsenals, sixty-three research laboratories, and scores of thermoelectric generating plants.

The breaking up of the Zaibatsu holdings is proceeding slowly despite the fact that on November 6, 1945, MacArthur ordered the Japanese government to form plans to dissolve all monopolistic combines. The Japs also were directed to present for Allied approval a program for abrogation of laws and regulations fostering private monopolies and for enactment of new laws providing business opportunities on a co-operative basis.

When carried out, Japan's four largest industrial families—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, and Sumitomo—will be stripped of their power. Assets of the Zaibatsu companies have in most cases been frozen. Neither the holding companies nor any members of the Big Four

families are permitted to purchase or otherwise acquire any interest in any liquidated property.

There have been attempts to evade the regulations. The opening of a curb market in Tokyo for the dumping of Zaibatsu stocks and the artificial support of prices was the subject of a SCAP investigation.

At first, Japan's industrialists were reluctant to reconvert to peacetime pursuits because of doubts over the extent of reparations. But the picture has changed.

In Osaka, which is known as Japan's Pittsburgh, former airplane prefabrication factories are making pie plates out of airplane gas tanks. Casings are being cut off depth bombs and converted into stoves. Hog-feeding troughs are made from dehorned sea mines, sewer pipes from torpedo tubes, hydraulic pumps from rocket guns, and fishing boats from the hulls of landing craft. Compasses are turned into cosmetics cases.

There are now approximately 65,000 industrial plants in operation in Japan. Soon at least a portion of 16,309 closed since the war will be back in limited production. If reparations permit, some of the 22,457 factories destroyed by bombing will be going back up.

THE JAPANESE ARE EATING. If they weren't, it would hardly be possible for sidewalk stalls to be so well stocked. Nor is it likely that the Japanese would stroll past those stands with scarcely a sidelong glance. The stocks consist mostly of vegetables and fruit in harvest. But there also are eggs in abundance on display. Plenty of the cuttlefish which Japanese love can be purchased,

and here and there you will find a butcher slicing up a chunk of meat. In suburban areas, conditions are even better.

The drawback is that prices are still so prohibitively high that Suzuki-san, whose income is pegged by law to the equivalent of \$34 a month, cannot buy all he wants. There is considerable agitation to raise that limitation, but Japanese and American economists feel that in time the restriction is certain to pull prices down. The theory is that if a man doesn't have a surplus of funds he won't pay black market prices. Therefore, prices will fall.

There is a suspicion among some Americans that the Japs are not being entirely honest about the food problem. For example, Lieutenant Robert Hopkins, of Philadelphia, says the Japs are forever telling him about finding the bodies of starvation victims among the thousands who wait long hours for trains at Tokyo's Ueno Station. Every time Hopkins goes to the station on an unannounced checkup, he fails to find anyone who looks as though he or she were starving. If, however, the Japs know he is coming, there is certain to be a beriberi victim, either alive or dead, on display.

"I sometimes think," says Hopkins, "that the Japs have one gent—an old beggar—who is used for exhibition purposes."

LABOR'S NEW DAY

MILITARY men have never been known as evangelists of unionism. MacArthur, however, has had the foresight vigorously to attack Japan's feudalistic and paternalistic system of labor abuse.

He favors controlled liberalization of the workers, who he believes have been the victims of the greatest hoax in history. He has fathered a magna charta which resembles the United States National Labor Relations Act. Under his guidance, the Japanese government is breaking down the generations-old belief that enjoyment could not be bought with money and that so long as the worker made the Emperor happy, nothing else mattered.

MacArthur favors the importation of world labor experts so that the Communists, who have had the organizational field virtually to themselves, can be checked.

The Japanese are responding to their new rights

with an enthusiasm equalled by nothing else in the new scheme of things. In 1936, when the unions experienced their most prosperous prewar years, they had but 427,-000 members. Today there are more than four thousand unions with a membership approximating 4,000,000. And the trend is steadily upward.

Regrettably, a dominant aspect of the liberation has been seizure of plants by workers. This production control brought, in June, 1946, an order by the Japanese government threatening severe punishment if it continued. The order has been only partly effective.

Oddly enough, employers have not been too vocal in opposing this tactic. For a time it appeared that they were, in fact, enthusiastic, for they assumed that if socialization came about, bureaucracy would result. They reasoned that when the occupation forces moved out the old interests could easily regain control of government and, consequently, of industry.

The average Jap's earnings are so affected by variables that he actually doesn't know how much he is paid. He may, if he is lucky, have a base salary of one hundred and fifty yen (\$15) a month. In addition, he gets a family allowance based on number of dependents. He also gets a year-end bonus which may range from four months' pay to three years' pay.

There is a temporary cost of living allowance which has protected him somewhat—but not fully—from inflation. He receives a good-attendance premium. If he is a textile worker, he lives in dormitories on the factory property, and the cost of this housing comes out of his

pay. He may receive payment in kind as part of his income. There is no uniformity in such practices. The computation of net earnings has been left to the employers. Now, with the dawn of a new era, the old methods are unwieldy. They complicate collective bargaining.

Another blight on the country has been the labor boss system (ovabun). It remains strong and must be eliminated. Under the system, the boss is the one who supplies labor for all jobs in a particular neighborhood. He is all-powerful. He can determine who eats and who doesn't. In the old days, he marked for extermination, either directly or indirectly, those whose thoughts got beyond control.

The Aomori newspaper *Too Nippo* commented that some former Diet members, purged from public life, were retaining extensive power by becoming labor bosses. "They are sucking sweet juice from government contracts," said the paper. "The destruction of this element should be the first step toward democracy."

Although take-home wages have risen more than three hundred per cent since the start of the occupation, the average for manual workers is only six hundred yen (\$40) and for office workers seven hundred yen. The worker can, under anti-inflation laws, receive only five hundred yen, plus one hundred for each dependent. The balance remains in a blocked bank account.

The economic pincers is painful. The Jap's staple foods—rice, barley, wheat, vegetables, and fish—are rationed. The rice ration totals 2.1 go (three-fourths of

a cupful) per day. The regulated price is 282.25 as against a former price of 87.91 per 5.12 bushels—a very substantial increase of 225 per cent. Barley is up 489 per cent, wheat 488 per cent. These, it must be kept in mind, are legal prices and include government subsidies. Black market prices are double or more, and the black market is taking about 40 per cent of the entire food supply despite forced collections by the government and severe penalties for hoarding.

Outside the Shimbashi railroad station in Tokyo are acres of stalls at which Japanese can get a bowl of soup or a slice of fish to supplement the official ration. Business is brisk. Japanese police roam through the crowds and watch the sales to see that price ceilings are not violated. A stroll through the area showed these prices: one boiled egg, four yen; small plate of squid, six yen; four soybean cookies, five yen; egg omelet, ten yen; smoked sailfish weighing a half pound, ten yen.

At these prices, a man's five hundred yen monthly income doesn't go far—even when food reserves are plentiful.

It has been a characteristic of Japan's economy that those who made the products could not afford to buy them. Silk, which was Japan's major product, was too expensive to purchase for millions who labored seven days a week. On the farms the very rice which was grown was actually a luxury item which many tenants could not afford to eat.

Since the mid-thirties three-fourths of Japan's manufactures were exported to give the militarists and their

minions, the Zaibatsu, dollar exchange with which to obtain war materials.

Japan's largest union, the Sodomei, corresponds to the CIO in its horizontal unionism. It grants membership to everyone from laborer to general manager (bucha). Its members are sometimes difficult to control. When there is to be a major labor meeting, conductors on trains are coerced into allowing the participants to ride to and from the demonstration free. During a dispute with the transit monopoly, trolley crews permitted everyone to ride free until management agreed to listen to terms.

Always avid "belongers"—witness the thousands of secret societies during the war—the Japs look upon unions as a partial outlet for such inclinations. Between March 1, when the Diet-approved Trade Unions Law went into effect, and March 15, some thirty-eight hundred unions filed registration papers.

There is a strong unifying movement under way and it is likely that out of the multiplicity of unions two dominant groups eventually will emerge.

Employers, too, have organized themselves into parallel groups. This is revolutionary, for in the past the unions included both management and workers, with management—because of its pipeline to the military—controlling the unions. "If you serve the emperor with sincere hearts you will be satisfied fully beyond expression," was standard reply to anyone so foolish as to thrust his head out of the quagmire.

The disparity between female and male wages is

astounding. In most plants, the men are paid two hundred per cent more than women. A survey indicates that in Japan's six leading prefectures male wages averaged 496 yen per month as against 108 yen for women. In the thirty-nine lesser prefectures, the average male earns 328 yen as against 108.

Here is how wages in six leading industrial cities have risen since August, 1945.

MALES

Industries	Wage	Increase
Metal	403	224
Machinery	391	220
Chemical	674	446
Ceramics	647	393
Spinning-weaving	690	618
Foodstuffs	642	627
Printing	523	331

FEMALES

Metal	237	210
Machinery	199	233
Chemical	293	385
Ceramics	256	393
Spinning-weaving	137	242
Foodstuffs	152	384
Printing	372	250

MALE OFFICE WORKERS

Various industries	562	316
Transport	448	269

FEMALE OFFICE WORKERS

Various industries	172	191
Transport	244	344

To help him chart his labor course, MacArthur brought from the United States a sixteen-man advisory mission headed by Paul Stanchfield, formerly with the U. S. Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The day the mission arrived, it became painfully aware of conditions when workers at the Dai-Iti Hotel, where most of the advisers were housed, decided to go on strike.

But the mission went on with its work and brought forth, after extensive study, a proposed program which emphasized that wages must be brought into balance with prices before the Japanese economy can be really stabilized. The mission denounced the policy of basing salary on the number of dependents.

"Several unfavorable results may possibly flow in normal times from a continuation of the practice," the committee observed. "On the one hand, if the amount paid to the worker for each of his dependents were to be substantially increased, it might encourage Japanese workers to increase the size of their families. This tendency would be detrimental for years to come to a nation which, because of the limited amount of arable land, may find it difficult to supply all of its needs for food. On the other hand, such an allowance may place so great a financial burden on the employer as to induce

him to refuse employment to workers who possess large families."

Manpower is Japan's greatest asset, as the committee pointed out. "Of all the major resources for production, this one alone is abundant. The hard work of the Japanese people, more than any other single factor, contributed to the Japanese economy of the past and will, if constructively used, contribute equally to the recovery and rebuilding of the country.

"For the time being, the inflation and the uncertainties of the kind and extent of reparations cast a shadow over the whole economy and obscure all but the critical immediate problems, so that it is impossible to foresee what the long range future will bring.

"But this much is certain: with all the limitations imposed on her by nature and defeat, Japan will have to depend on her labor more, if anything, in the future than in the past, to sustain her.

"Though the immediate efforts must be directed toward solving the immediate crisis, the long range problems are more profound and in some ways more important. The history of the collapse of democracy in Italy and Germany is eloquent evidence of what can happen to a nation long exposed to the sufferings of mass unemployment.

"As soon as the future limits of the Japanese economy have been determined by the Allied powers, the Japanese government should be required to develop and submit a plan for the productive employment of the nation's manpower. Such a plan should aim at the highest

possible level of production of goods and services consistent with the facilities and materials available. It should be based on the demand for labor arising from industries, trades and services; and on the supply of labor available, considering the size and distribution of the working population, trends in the ages of entrance into the labor market and retirement and the prevailing hours of work.

"It is impossible to foresee now whether production of goods and services can be raised high enough to absorb the nation's manpower. If it cannot, and only if it is certain that it cannot, consideration may be given to measures for assuring the most equitable distribution of employment by further limiting the size of the labor supply. This might be through such measures as raising the minimum age of child labor, lowering the retirement age, restricting the employment of married women, and shortening the work hours.

"The exodus from the cities has swollen the farm population far beyond the labor needed for agriculture; and among those still remaining in the towns and cities, great numbers formerly engaged in productive occupations now derive precarious incomes from trading, which may be profitable but surely is not productive.

"Certain projects would help reduce the number of unemployed. They would include reclamation of land, building of access roads to reserves of coal and timber, low-cost housing, improvement of small harbors to handle larger fishing craft, clearance of war-devastated

urban areas and the planting of gardens on cleared ground."

Urging establishment of a separate labor section within SCAP, the committee said:

"The present provision for labor functions is not commensurate with the importance and difficulty of the job to be done.

"The present staff assigned to these functions is much too limited to fulfill its proper functions. Important educational and informational functions essential to a successful labor program are lodged outside the division responsible for policy, and the present subordinate status of labor functions is inconsistent with the major influence that labor considerations should have both within this headquarters and in its dealings with the Japanese government and the Japanese people.

"Since the surrender, important progress has been made in the labor field . . . Despite this progress, only the first steps have been taken in the construction of stable, effective and well oriented labor institutions representing either workers or employers; and the government agencies responsible for labor programs will need continuous and detailed guidance if they are to fulfill their obligations.

"There is urgent need for comprehensive education of workers and union officials on the functions and structure of unions, the techniques of collective bargaining, the content of collective agreements, and other subjects related to a healthy labor movement. Education of employers on labor matters is also vitally needed.

"In terms of the total job to be done in a nation emerging from feudalism, this need cannot be met unless programs of education and information in the labor field are more closely integrated with policy and operating programs in the same field.

"The traditionally insubordinate status of labor and labor programs in Japan leaves the country with neither the experienced personnel nor the established administrative agencies which are needed to operate an effective labor program in a modern democracy.

"This headquarters must be increasingly concerned not only with general policies but also with the establishment and effective operation machinery to carry them out.

"Until the present inflation is controlled and production matches the demand for food and other consumer goods, many labor policies will be little more than improvisations and temporary expedients. Labor policies, especially in connection with wage stabilization and public works programs, must be closely integrated with general programs for meeting the immediate crisis.

"The present provision for labor functions in SCAP is not commensurate with the importance and difficulty of the job to be done. The Labor Division occupies a subordinate position which diminishes its effectiveness in the formation of SCAP policy and in dealing with the Japanese.

"Responsibility for certain important matters affecting labor, such as labor education and labor statistics and research, are lodged elsewhere. New and important

problems are emerging in several of the fields already assigned to the division—especially in connection with protective legislation, employment planning public works and wage administration—which the general staff, adequate for the most urgent tasks of the immediate post-surrender period, is numerically and quantitatively unable to undertake to develop properly.”

While praising many steps already taken, the committee added:

“Important as the accomplishments are, they do not in themselves assure the success of long range objectives in the labor field. The elimination of barriers to the growth of unions, for example, does not guarantee that the unions which develop will be democratic in character and capable of performing the functions which they should in a peaceful Japan.

“Passage of acceptable laws or the proclamation of sound policies is not assurance that they will be effectively administered. Constant vigilance and detailed attention will be needed if broad principles are to be given substance.

“This requires:

“1. That government agencies be properly organized and adequately staffed.

“2. That the administrative machinery be controlled by sympathetic and competent personnel.

“3. That workers’ organizations develop the maturity and internal structure required for a strong and stable labor movement.

"4. That undemocratic tendencies in unions or in government be eliminated and do not reappear.

"5. That workers and employers have access to the channels of information and opinion that are essential to a healthy balancing of conflicting interests.

"The day-to-day actions necessary to achieve these goals must be carried out over a period of years by Japanese workers and officials, and to some extent by Japan's employers and other citizens. But in the labor field, perhaps more than any other, the technical assistance and support of the responsible GHQ specialists will be needed to avoid pitfalls, gaps and errors of experience, lack of knowledge or design.

"Labor administration in a democracy, once the political or institutional barriers are removed, inevitably becomes a major function of government. Japan's needs and objectives in this field have already outgrown their narrow limits in two bureaus of the present Welfare Ministry.

"The necessary expansion of the Japanese government's attention to labor problems carries with it the logical corollary that GHQ must be prepared to provide guidance and technical assistance proportionate to the new importance of labor and its problems in the new nation which is now emerging. Such attention must be detailed, constructive and technically proficient. It calls for the use of the best experience and training that can be made available from the ranks of persons experienced with the various problems in the labor field.

"Labor programs, affecting a large section of the population, should hold a position in the over-all organization of the occupation forces which assures that such programs have effective influence on over-all policies and that their importance is clearly indicated to the Japanese people and their government. The present subordinate position of the Labor Division does not provide this assurance.

"The present arrangement has other defects. Responsibility for education and information in the labor field is assigned to a separate section of GHQ, in which it can be only loosely and indirectly coordinated with labor policies and programs. Similarly the research and statistics functions in the labor field are lodged in a separate division of the Economic and Scientific Section. These functions should be more closely integrated with the other functions now performed by the Labor Division."



THE HANDWRITING IS BLURRED

DOMEI NEWS AGENCY, that much-de-spised disseminator of hatred and untruth, ceases to exist. However, many of the writing men who prostituted themselves to the cause of militarism are still in high position within the two news agencies which succeeded Domei.

When General MacArthur in September, 1945, ordered Domei to disband, the hierarchy split into two groups. One group organized the Kyodo News Service; the other formed Jiji News Service. Saiji Hasegawa, former head of Domei's Foreign Department, is now president of Jiji's board of directors. As president of Kyodo there is Masanori Ito, who because of his widely-read naval articles became the George Fielding Eliot of Japan. As editor-in-chief, Kyodo has Yoshisaburo Matsukata, who used to be Domei's head man in Shang-

hai and later directed the Manchurian News Agency, a Domei subsidiary.

As for the newspapers and magazines which the agencies serve, most are still owned by the monied interests that controlled them during the expansionist days. The great *Asahi*, for instance, is still earning dividends for the Murayama and Ueno families. Sho Riki, publisher of *Yomiuri*, is reported to be receiving monthly statements on *Yomiuri's* earnings although he is in Sugamo Prison. There are three hundred newspapers in Japan, one hundred and twenty of them dailies. Their circulation totals 12,000,000.

Someday SCAP may get around to a complete purge, but meanwhile censorship officials keep their fingers crossed from edition to edition. Pre-censorship is exercised on the major publications. The others undergo only post-censorship, which in the case of prefectural newspapers means that the censor's wary eye may not spot a doubtful article or editorial until days or even weeks after it appears.

Shortly after the election of April 10, 1946, which sent thirty-two women to the Diet, a Tokyo suburban newspaper proclaimed to its readers that thirty of those women were former prostitutes and mistresses. The WAC censorship officer who saw the startling announcement after publication called in the editor and made him publish an apology and print extensive biographies of the women to prove that he had lied.

Within the Japanese press is the all-powerful Japan Publishers' Association. This group not only possesses

considerable administrative power but also has assumed responsibility for the removal of undesirable personnel from all publishing houses.

Whether that purge has been conducted objectively or whether its edicts have been influenced by the self-interest of its members has become a matter of bitter controversy in various periodicals whose editors cannot understand why one publisher can get paper to reprint 125,000 copies of an American-written book on a stolen copyright while another publisher can get an allotment sufficient for only three thousand copies of an important textbook.

Its accusers charge the JPA with being more guilty of war-mongering than those whom it has purged. The ones who make the charges, however, automatically find themselves aligned with the purgees. Their political and business interests therefore suffer.

An unusually blunt accusation of JPA appeared in *Nippon Shuho*, where one Kyozauro Kinoshita was audacious enough to stick out his editorial neck with a charge that "the nest is still infested."

"Hand in hand with the military clique," wrote Kinoshita, "sometimes advising and sometimes flattering, JPA officials controlled public opinion during the war even though their activities never became well known to the public. Taking advantage of this ignorance of Japanese citizens, the organization successfully crept into the publication field after the defeat.

"Since the periodicals in Japan naturally play an important part in the realization of democracy, these

men are in a position to assume a leading role again."

He flatly accuses thirteen men of being war criminals and says that one official "received certain types of assistance from the German Embassy and published German pamphlets." Another officer is accused of being a "notorious opportunist." One JPA executive is said to have headed the information section of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

The chairman of the JPA committee which was ordered to carry out its house-purging without direct action from SCAP is accused by Kinoshita of "exerting all his efforts toward converting peacetime athletics into armed sports in order to please the militarists."

The magazine *Jimmin Hyoron* sums up the situation, as it sees it, by saying, "The publishing field reflects the general tendency of the people to run off loosely at all ends since the defeat."

Early in the occupation employees of the newspaper *Yomiuri* went on strike, then assumed management and operation of the newspaper. The housecleaning that followed, however, was the subject of criticism by Takeo Araki, editor and publisher of *Yoron*. "Who are the real fakers?" he asked. "If we examine the newcomers in most newspapers, their camouflage can be easily penetrated. Minor executives who have replaced the top-level officials were often equally guilty. They too were the connivers, the department heads who frequently carried out the conspiracy with dirty army, navy, and bureaucratic officials."

Some other newspapers also were taken over forcibly

and operated by the employees without official interference until, in June, 1946, the Japanese government, with MacArthur's approval, ordered an end to such production-control tactics by labor.

Daringly, the newspaper *Hyuga Nichinichi* last summer proclaimed in a discussion of efforts to prevent reconstruction of Gokoku Shrine, "It is a serious miscarriage of justice to profane the spirits of soldiers who sacrificed their lives." While admitting that the shrine was a symbol of militarism, the paper observed that "consoling of the spirits of soldiers is a state function which no one can deny . . . We, although a defeated people, must cling to our Japanese spirit even in carrying out democratization. We must not fall prey to mistaken cultural ideas or be obsessed by dark illusions."

In a sarcastic outburst, *Tokyo Shimbun* criticized the "empty-headed and indiscriminating attitude" of the young Japanese who are obsessed by everything American. The writer applauded the furor raised by a man who received a New Year's greeting in English from a former Kamikaze pilot. Such action was compared with "the young girls who chew bean shells" in an effort to imitate gum-chewing GIs. The paper called this imitation of the Americans "contemptible and odious."

Fukui Shimbun jolted American censors by proposing that demobilized soldiers "unite." They should "collect and reform society by their power of combination," said the paper, adding, "If 50,000 demobilized soldiers are united in one body, they can send their representa-

tives to the Diet. They should strengthen their power of combination. Are there any leaders for this movement? If so, come forward."

In June, 1946, ten months after the start of the occupation, conditions reached such a state that Marine Colonel Donald Ross Nugent, chief of SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section, told newspaper editors and publishers that "the period of nursing your publications is over." At a tense press conference, the Colonel declared that "from now on the Japanese press will stand on its own feet and will be judged not by its expressed intentions, not by its pious hopes, but by what actually appears in the columns of the newspapers."

Colonel Nugent defined what SCAP considered to be the meaning of freedom of the press.

"Such freedom means," he said, "fundamentally, the right of free access to legitimate sources of news and the right to present news and editorial opinion in the columns of a newspaper, free from influence, domination, or any form of totalitarian control by any governmental agency, by any political party, by an employees' association, by any labor union, or by any other pressure group. It means the freedom of the newspaper to determine its own editorial policy and to advocate that policy in its editorial columns.

"This freedom, we all realize, may lend itself to abuse unless those who wield it are conscious of the heavy responsibilities of the press . . . Was it not partly because the Japanese press renounced or neglected this

responsibility that the militarists and ultranationalists were able to deceive and mislead the people into war.

"Does the Japanese press of today want to be accused in later years of comparable irresponsibility in having deceived and misled the people into harmful and unwise social, economic and political ways?"

The Colonel accused the publications of violating the press code which MacArthur had issued in September, 1945. That code provided:

1. News must adhere strictly to the truth.
2. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion.
3. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.
4. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details.
5. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

"An examination of the editorial columns of certain newspapers," the colonel continued, "would lead one to believe that their mission is to prove that whatever is, is wrong. It might be well for each newspaper to ascertain that its own hands are clean before offering irresponsible criticism of others.

"The custodians of responsibility on each newspaper are the owners or the management selected by them. It is they who determine and enforce the editorial policy of the newspaper and the manner in which its news is presented.

"Conscious of their responsibility to society and of the freedom with which they have been endowed to fulfill that responsibility, they must resist courageously not only all attempts by government officials to have them deviate from the truth or conform to a prescribed viewpoint but also all endeavors by private individuals or groups, even their own employees, to interfere with what they believe to be the proper policy and purpose of their newspaper. Employees who cannot work willingly under such a policy are at liberty to sever their connection with the newspaper and seek employment elsewhere."

On June 27, 1946, Major D. C. Imboden, director of SCAP's press and publications division, told eighteen hundred assembled employees of *Yomiuri* their newspaper had been guilty of such flagrant violations of the code of ethics that MacArthur would have been justified in closing it. He termed the paper a "constant source of trouble" and upbraided the editors for printing an article which previously appeared in *Mainichi* and which Imboden called an "abominable lie." The article in question had cast aspersions on the conduct of Allied war crimes personnel.

Freedom of the press remains another term for a journalistic field day to many Japanese newspapermen. They write to incite, and their handwriting is purposely blurred.

THEY CALL US CHEATS

THE wormwood legalism by which goat-faced Ichiro Kiyose, chief counsel for Japan's major war criminals, sought to becloud the honesty of the Potsdam Declaration will be debated by historians long after criticism of the trial as a mockery of justice has subsided.

Kiyose denied that Japan surrendered unconditionally. He insisted that his country had been hoodwinked and would never have given up if her people knew that "our beloved leaders and statesmen" would be brought to trial by eleven enemy governments.

False as Kiyose's premise may have been, and inspired in part as it was by his own long career of ultranationalism, it nonetheless was an argument which some diehard Japanese troublemakers have been using in an effort to discredit the victory.

Kiyose's comments, plus other aspects of the trial in

the austere War Ministry where Tojo once plotted his crimes, added up to a serious suspicion that a broad section of the public did not understand—or appreciate—the reason for action against those whom Joseph B. Keenan, the pudgy little chief prosecutor, described as “murderers, brigands, pirates, and plunderers.”

One newspaper columnist, skirting the fringes of censorship, wrote frankly that there was justification for Japan's entry into war. He admonished defense counsel to “argue grandly upon the honor of our legal circles.” He said that he felt the trials should have been conducted by the Japanese people themselves, “because not only was Japan the greatest sufferer but such a procedure would have facilitated a real clarification of the facts for a fundamental revision of Japanese ideology and spirit.”

Among letters intercepted from Japanese mails was one which read:

“There is no difference between cannibals and Americans or Englishmen. If they are the real civilized people, they should not punish the war criminals with death whatever their act may have been. Will it be pleasant to send other men to the gallows?”

Another Japanese wrote to a friend: “The trial seems biased. Corporal punishment was a common practice in our army. I wish the Americans would study the circumstances and familiarize themselves with Japanese sentiments. Those who are true leaders of the world should be much fairer.”

The ends of justice would have been perhaps better

served had we herded all of Japan's wartime leaders into a field and shot them without the bother and expense of a formal trial. However, it was important that we impress upon the Japanese mind the fairness of Anglo-Saxon methods. Because of this importance, the tribunal could well have heeded a defense contention that the president was unqualified to render fair judgment because he had once gathered evidence for Australia on Japanese atrocities. More recognition also should have been granted a motion that the Philippine member of the court might be prejudiced inasmuch as he had been in the Bataan Death March.

The Japanese people shook their heads and wondered when, early in the trial, six American members of the defense withdrew, charging that the trials would be "a phony and fantastic semblance of justice."

The phraseology of the Potsdam Declaration, which was signed originally by President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee, and China's Chiang Kai-shek—and later concurred in by Stalin—is loose. This regrettable circumstance will rise to haunt Japan's relations with the Allies for years to come. As the memory of the B-29s fades, as the ravaged cities again start to take shape, the imprint of the defeat will not be so sharp. That is when the Declaration will be brought forth by the Japanese for reviewing.

For their value as historical travesties if nothing else, Kiyose's arguments are worth considering. The fiery little Japanese, who was chosen for the defense by Tojo himself, insisted that when Japan decided, on August

10, 1945, to accept Potsdam's terms, she believed she was giving up only her armed might. Because she retained her Emperor, she kept sovereignty of government. MacArthur, he said, was an intruder. The eleven nations represented on the tribunal had no right to conduct a trial, even though those nations contained more than half of all the civilized peoples on earth.

Denying that the surrender was unconditional, Kiyose said that an unconditional surrender never includes terms. To bear out his point he pulled from paragraph five of the Declaration this phrase, "Following are our terms." Kiyose preferred to ignore the remainder of that paragraph: "We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay."

Then he proceeded to paragraph 13 where it says, "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces." Again he overlooked the last sentence, "The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

In the instrument of surrender signed aboard the battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945, Kiyose found this: "We hereby proclaim the unconditional surrender . . . of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces and all armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated." Once more, however, Kiyose was neglectful. He failed to see the following a little farther along, "We hereby undertake . . . to issue whatever orders and take whatever action may be required by the supreme commander for the Allied powers . . ."

Chief Prosecutor Keenan, whose face went red when-

ever Kiyose approached the courtroom microphone, felt that he could debunk Kiyose's arguments by quoting the words of President Truman after Truman had received the Japanese answer, "I deem this reply a full acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration which specifies unconditional surrender of Japan."

Kiyose is sixty-four years old (actually he's only sixty-three because the Japanese consider a newborn baby to be a year old upon birth). He is four feet eight inches tall and weighs ninety-three pounds. He has been practicing law for thirty-eight years. Except for two years in London (1914-15) he has always practiced in Japan.

Most of his clients had been the great Zaibatsu companies. In 1931, the year of the Mukden Incident, he was elected to the Diet as a member of the Kokumin-Dom (National Party). He was re-elected continuously and held office until being purged as an undesirable by MacArthur's directive against office holding by men with doubtful records. The fact that after consolidation of the Kokumin-Dom into the expansionist Imperial Rule Assistance Association he continued to hold Diet office was used against him.

The defense of Tojo *et al* was his most important case. The next biggest was his defense of fifteen navy officers who assassinated Premier Inukai in 1937. All the officers were convicted and sent to prison.

When I interviewed Kiyose, he kept emphasizing that he didn't want to be misquoted. He handed me a statement. Here it is, in the original English:

"We admit that Mr. Keenan is a master in the art

of eloquency and his opening statement of this case has been well versed.

"However, he missed the mark when he cited Abraham Lincoln's remark at dedication of National Cemetery at Gettysburg to stress his denunciation of the Japanese war criminals. Because, Japan did not have any intention to destruct democracy. On the contrary Japanese aim has always been to let every nation have their own culture, retain their own way of life, preserve the form of government of their own choice.

"Really and truly, Japanese leaders and people have never dreamt of perishing government of, by and for the people from the earth.

"Another comment, we may add, is the fact that that part of his speech that he rebuked the accused for violation of rules and customs of warfare, such as indiscriminate bombings of open cities, did not impress the Japanese public so much, because amidst ardour and confusion of the struggle for life and death, mistakes of such kind have been committed by both sides.

"About two-thirds of Japanese cities with no military objective worth mentioning has been burnt down by incendiary bombs, at the last moment by A-bombs.

"Japanese leaders have never ordered, nor intentionally neglected to prohibit the violation of infringement of rules and customs of warfare.

"This clearly distinguishes Japanese method of warfare from that of Nazi Germany. Analogy between Tokyo trial and that of Neurnberg often mislead the prosecution."

This was not the first time Kiyose had drawn a contrast between Japan and Germany:

"Declarations made against Germany or other European Axis nations cannot be applied to Japan," he argued earlier. "Whatever declarations were made, either at Moscow or Yalta, against Germany cannot under any circumstances be made applicable to Japan . . .

"There is a very great difference between the way in which Germany surrendered and Japan surrendered. Germany, as you well know, resisted to the very last. Hitler died or was killed, Goering departed from the ranks, and Germany ultimately collapsed.

"In the case of Germany, therefore, it was literally an unconditional surrender. In other words, as regards German war criminals, the Allies, if I may be permitted to say so, could just as well have punished war criminals without trial.

"The forces of the Allied powers had not yet landed in Japan when the Potsdam Declaration was proclaimed . . .

"The Potsdam Declaration as proposed to Japan contained conditions. To borrow the words from civil law, it presented Japan an offer. In other words, there was a condition. It was this that was accepted and it is this that the Allies must observe.

"One of the war aims of the Allies in this war was respect for international law. If that is the case, it has been our strong belief that interpretation of the question of war crimes would under no circumstances go

beyond the interpretations made by exciting international law. The Japanese people have also so believed.

"The Potsdam Declaration was accepted by the cabinet at that time headed by Premier Kantaro Suzuki. The question of punishing war criminals, or punishment of war criminals in the Potsdam Declaration was accepted on the understanding that the punishment of war criminals would take place in accordance with the commonly accepted understanding of that term throughout the world. To go beyond that is overstepping the bounds of international law. We would like to know, therefore, why new crimes should be charged after acceptance of that declaration . . .

"I have read in news reports and books that the Pan-American Conference in Havanna resolved that aggressive war should be considered as an international war crime. However, that was merely a local agreement. A local agreement or treaty or resolution binds only those who participated in such local agreement. It does not bind those who are outside of this area.

"There are some people who argue that if the Anti-war Pact of 1928, which condemns war as an instrument of national policy, is violated, that action can be considered as an aggressive war. Such an argument is completely mistaken. The Anti-war Pact condemns war as an instrument of national policy but does not consider it a crime . . ."

In his 56-page, 17,000-word opening address Keenan placed emphasis on a point to which the Japanese press as a whole gave prominence. "It is necessary to empha-

size again and again," he said, "that nations as such do not break treaties, nor do they engage in open and aggressive warfare. The responsibility rests upon human agents, the individuals who have voluntarily sought and achieved by one method or another the power either to enforce treaties and agreements to maintain peace, or to break them."

There has never been, Keenan went on, an intent to enslave the Japanese people or to destroy Japan as a nation. "We must reach the conclusion that the Japanese people themselves were utterly within the power and force of these accused, and to such extent were its victims . . . Every person is liable for the natural and probable consequences of his criminal acts.

"In paragraph 6, the Potsdam Declaration clearly states: 'There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world concert, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.'"

THE STORY BEHIND THE PREPARATION of the case against the war criminals is full of international juggling.

The British were originally given the job of writing the indictment. When the first draft was shown to the Russian member of the prosecution's executive committee, he is supposed to have reared back and shouted: "Ridiculous! My people back home would never be able

to understand that document. They would want to know why I was wasting my time over here."

The Filipino member agreed with him. So everybody then had a chance at trying to simplify the phraseology. The original British draft was extensively revised. However, it was still possible to detect in the final version evidence of the British legal thinking. In the part devoted to the attack on Pearl Harbor, the word harbor was spelled "harbour."

If Keenan had been given his say, the trial would not have begun with a dull thud. He was in favor of starting off with plenty of what he called "sock." He would have begun with the story of Pearl Harbor, the showing of dramatic movies of the attack, and the testimony by the men who suffered.

Then there would have been flashbacks to foundation phases of the case. Keenan, however, was convinced by the British that the story of Japanese action against the United States and Britain should come last. So that was one reason why Keenan decided to fly back to the United States. He felt he could be absent without missing a great deal. It also would give him a chance to recover from a heart attack which he had suffered.

There was intense rivalry among defense attorneys for the choice assignments. Everybody wanted to defend Tojo. Civilian lawyers, who were paid from \$7,500 to \$9,500, recognized it as a chance to get their names in the world's newspapers. That was one reason why when they arrived from the States and found most of the plush assignments given to former Navy officers,

they started a resistance movement against Captain Beverly M. Coleman, a Navy reservist who headed the American defense section.

Life was not too unpleasant in Japan for members of the prosecution and defense. They had Army sedans driven by GI chauffeurs. They had comfortable billets. For week-end relaxation there were free mountain and seaside resorts which the American Army operates. Before the start of the trial, ten members of the prosecution spent a full week at the swank Nikko Kanko Hotel in the mountains of Nikko, where rooms used to be thirty dollars a day. They swam, fished, hunted, and danced—free.

But the legal minds had their worries, too. One day they decided that the author of a book, *The Living Soldier*, would make a good prosecution witness. He wrote the book in 1938, and although it was a novel it described, on the basis of what the author had seen, the circumstances surrounding the ninety thousand rapings committed at Nanking. The author was subpoenaed. He refused to come in. So finally American MPs were sent to get him. The author admitted having been sent to prison for four months because of the book, but he said that if he gave testimony he might be killed when the American Army withdrew from Japan.

IN THE DARK DAYS WHEN MACARTHUR had fled south from Corregidor, the first lawyer he met in Australia was a huge, raw-boned, brilliant man named William Flood Webb.

MacArthur was impressed.

When it came time, four years later, to select an Australian member for the eleven-nation International Military Tribunal, the general suggested Webb.

Webb's sometimes imperious manner brought mutterings of unfairness from the defense. One thing, however, was certain. No matter how dull or faulty the evidence, or how loose the manner of presentation, there was never a dull moment when Webb leaned over to the microphone, rubbed his chin, showed his teeth in a half-snarl, and went into action.

He does not think the sights he witnessed while investigating atrocities impaired his ability to render fair judgment against the grade-A war criminal suspects. In Australia, he said, it is accepted practice for a judge trying a murder case to sit with the grand jurors, hear the evidence, decide whether an indictment is warranted, and then proceed to try the case with a common jury—even though he has already made a decision in favor of the prosecution by having voted for an indictment.

Webb is sixty years old, gray-haired, six feet tall. He weighs two hundred and ten pounds. His face is narrow, and the sharpness of his features is accentuated by the length of his fine aquiline nose. When he is about to have a go at a lawyer, either prosecution or defense, he looks a little like an eagle about to swoop on its prey.

Although quick to check a Japanese lawyer's ramblings, Webb was equally quick to praise those who performed well.

A laugh in the courtroom didn't bring an automatic banging of the gavel. During one dull and warm session, a Japanese counsel was putting leading questions to a witness. "Wait," said Webb, "you can't do that. You can't take anything for granted." Came back the Japanese, "I can take a little, can't I?" Everybody, including Webb, howled.

There was one American, to whom irreverent correspondents referred as an ambulance-chaser counsel, who seldom succeeded in making a point with Webb. Once when the lawyer continued to ramble on despite Webb's suggestion that time was a-wasting, the chief justice said, "Now look. Don't repeat that again. It's been said a dozen times. Put those questions direct, if you know how."

When a prosecution witness, as so many have done, spoke out in defense of those on trial, Webb turned to Justice Alan J. Mansfield, of Australia, an assistant prosecutor and former jurist, and muttered, "I must say, Mr. Justice Mansfield, that your witness was devastating."

When Baron Kijuro Shidehara, former Prime Minister, was on the stand, the baron started to give his responses in English. Webb, who preferred to have Japanese testify in their own language, suggested that Shidehara do so. The baron either didn't hear or preferred to ignore the admonition. Webb sat back, waited a short while, and then told the prosecution attorney who was examining Shidehara, "The witness' English is impossible. The strain on this court is too great. Get

him back into Japanese." Shidehara bowed, and gave his answers in Japanese, which was translated through the courtroom headphones.

Japanese witnesses, when giving dates, tie them in with Japan's various eras. One day Webb, exasperated, commented: "I've never felt less informed about any question in my life. Meiji Era, Sino-Japanese war, and the Sixth Year of Showa. Ask the witness direct questions so we can get direct answers understandable to all. We can't sit here all day."

Japanese counsel frequently raised the point that translations of documents placed in evidence were not exact enough. "So," said Webb, "we'll leave these things to the language section. We'll have no more of that now. As I've said before, this court is not bound by technical rules. If we are to have every 'i' dotted and every 't' crossed, we'll never be finished. Every moment of this court's time is precious. That's enough for you."

Webb's sense of the ironic is sharp. If a lawyer's manner indicated a lack of experience Webb was quick to help him along with "If the learned counsel will do so and so, maybe that would help." The emphasis was always on the word "learned."

After a defense lawyer had taken an exception to a ruling of the court, Webb cracked, "Take any exception you like. You'll be heard no further on that subject." The subject was MacArthur's right, under U. S. Constitutional law, to appoint the tribunal.

To a defense lawyer who popped up during cross-

examination by another defense lawyer, Webb spouted, "We can't have him and you in action at the same time. Sit down."

When a Japanese lawyer was engaging, as the Japanese do, in a long Oriental chat with a witness, rather than cross-examining him in the usual manner, Webb remarked, "This is no interrogation—this is a conversation between the two of them. But we shall hear them out." Having said which, he made a wry face, wiped his forehead with a handkerchief, and sat back resignedly.

To a Japanese who persisted in arguing a point after the court had given an adverse ruling, the tribunal president shouted, "You've said the last word you're going to say at that lectern this afternoon. Take him away, somebody."

For years Webb's daughter, herself a lawyer, was his secretary. He has two sons who served under MacArthur's command; one was in an American regiment in New Guinea, the other led an American patrol across the Owen Stanley Range.

Webb had two large desks in his office in the War Ministry. On one desk was an oversized sign, "No Smoking."

"But don't pay any attention to it," said Sir William, "I just keep it there so that when we have legal conferences people won't get the rugs dirty. Rugs can be ruined awfully easy, you know."

UNBENDING THE TWIG

TWO months after the occupation began I went with an army patrol to a primary school in the town of Omi. When we entered the building, the children covered their faces and ran screaming in all directions. Teachers looked out of classroom doors, saw us coming down the corridors, and scurried back into the classrooms.

We collared the principal and he took us on inspection of the classrooms. In every room we found posters showing Japanese armies in action. Model airplanes hung from the ceiling. The cover of every pencil box was decorated with war scenes. In closets we found hundreds of kendo masks and swords. From a desk drawer we pulled out dummy hand grenades. Also in the drawer we found the bloodstained diary of an American sailor. Beside it was the sailor's cap. It, too,

was bloodstained. So were three snapshots of the sailor's loved ones.

The teacher was a former Japanese army officer, whose presence as a teacher was illegal under a MacArthur directive against the hiring of discharged officers and the further teaching of militaristic subjects. The teacher said he did not know from where the American's cap, diary, and photos had come. He insisted they had been in the desk when he first reported for work.

Through our interpreter we asked the class—not one of the pupils was more than nine years old—if they liked Americans. They shook their heads sidewise.

The Army patrol confiscated most of the illegal material, ordered the principal to discharge the former soldier, and left. A report was filed with the Sixth Army headquarters in Kyoto.

Six months later I returned to that town. With me was Lieutenant Eugene Steffes.

When we parked our jeep, two hundred children gathered around. Lieutenant Steffes smiled at them. They giggled. Steffes started to whistle "Swanee River," a song known to all Japanese.

The children glanced at one another, surprised. Then they started to sing, in Japanese, as Steffes whistled.

Their fathers and mothers looked out of their homes, saw what was happening and came running. Within minutes, the crowd had swelled to five hundred. Steffes stood on the hood of the jeep and led the song. He

tried "Auld Lang Syne" and the "Maine Stein Song," which they also knew. Later the crowd trailed us as we moved to the primary school.

In the classroom where I previously had found the sailor's bloodstained cap all signs of militarism had vanished. No longer were there model airplanes suspended from the ceiling. Gone were charts showing relative performance of the Zero versus the Grumman. On the covers of pencil boxes were pastoral scenes instead of war pictures.

Not all the textbooks were new. The pages of old ones still in use, however, were censored. In some books whole pages had been blacked out with India ink.

In a storeroom on the first floor were perhaps two hundred posters, all of which Army Counter-Intelligence agents had ordered removed from the classrooms. The school's principal said he was awaiting definite instructions before burning them. He said he thought the posters might be of some historical value. Incidentally, he was the same principal who was in charge earlier. Today he speaks English and instead of a kimono wears trousers and shirt. He said he planned to dismiss six or eight teachers, three of them former soldiers. He would replace them with men and women whose backgrounds were untainted.

Omi-Hachiman has had three new police chiefs. The man who had the onerous task of confiscating all the townspeople's Samurai swords and pistols, was replaced by a chief who purged the State Shinto shrines. He gave way to the present chief, who used to have a

similar job in a town one hundred miles away. The people still whip off their hats and bow low when speaking to local policemen but the chief says he has given orders for each man on the force to reassure the people that the days of brutality are over.

Like most country towns, Omi-Hachiman appeared to have a sufficiency of food. There were stocks of dried fish, meat, and vegetables in the stores—yet no queues formed outside.

Driving away through the Japanese countryside, Steffes and I got friendly handwaves from workers in the fields. We noticed, however, that when there were no Japanese men nearby the greetings from the women standing knee-deep in the rice paddies were much more enthusiastic. One woman who waved was immediately beaten over the head from behind by a farm hand wearing an army hat. He then shook his fist at us.

Concerning school reform in general, it appears that genuine progress is being made. It is the most important undertaking of the occupation. We must work carefully and thoroughly in the training of 18,000,000 pupils who attend Japan's 40,000 schools and are taught by 400,000 teachers.

The spadework for the reform was performed by Brigadier General Ken R. Dyke, who has since been released from service. Before he left, he gave the go-ahead for a project under which parents in each school district would pass judgment on teachers to decide which ones should be disqualified from schoolwork because of past activity. To date the Japanese Ministry

of Education has reported the dismissal of more than one thousand teachers and school officials, from university presidents to teachers in the smallest of schools.

School books are being rewritten and will gradually be substituted for stop-gap texts which were hastily censored of undesirable material to enable the schools to continue functioning.

Japan's language should be rewritten. The substitution of Romaji is recommended. This would change the condition under which children spend most of their classroom time learning the eleven thousand characters in the alphabet, only to find upon graduation from college that they can read only three thousand.

The tight and centralized power of the Ministry of Education must be broken. Local districts should receive more autonomy of operation. They should have the right to hire their own teachers, buy whatever texts they wish. It was the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) which, by publishing or controlling all texts, regulated thought in an educational propaganda system which was the most highly specialized the world ever has known. Thinking, under the Mombusho, was done by the government and the people were taught to obey, not question. Strict governmental control over both private and public school teaching was supplemented by the appointment of thought supervisors who had the power to make arrests.

Suicides were not uncommon among Japanese boys and girls who dreaded examinations for fear they would be ridiculed if they failed to pass. As for the teachers,

they received their own training under semi-military conditions. They paid no tuition, lived frugally, and studied from two-and-one-half to eight years. Their curriculum was primarily nationalistic and secondly academic. It is not difficult to see why the teachers were among the most highly indoctrinated jingoists in Japan and hence fit leaders for spreading the Imperial way.

A mission of twenty-seven American educators has given MacArthur and the Japanese advice on reform of the educational system. The mission, headed by Dr. George D. Stoddard, held out hope for a revitalized Japan. One member, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, said she believed Japan could be accepted again as an equal nation. She urged that Japanese students be allowed to study abroad in greater numbers than before.

Morals, which in Japanese education occupy a separate place and have tended to promote submissiveness, should be differently construed and should interpret all phases of a free people's life. "Manners that encourage equality, the give-and-take of democratic government, the ideal of good workmanship in daily life—all these are morals in the wider sense," said the educators' report. They should be developed and practiced in the varied program and activities of the democratic school.

In the revised school system of the new Japan, vocational education should be emphasized at all levels. "Normal schools should be modified so as to provide the kinds of teachers needed. They should admit students only after completion of a course in the upper second-

dary school equivalent in standards to that of the present middle school, thus eliminating the normal preparatory courses. The reorganized normal schools, all more nearly at the level of the higher normal schools, should become four-year institutions; they would continue general education and provide adequate professional training for teachers in elementary and secondary schools."

During this period of crisis for the Japanese, adult education is of paramount necessity.

"Mistrust engenders mistrust," the report continued. "The Department of Education through its apparent lack of confidence in the intelligence of teachers at all levels has succeeded in producing a lack of confidence on the part of teachers in its power of leadership.

"Fortunately, regimented control cannot invariably be relied upon to produce the regimented mind. The teachers of Japan, insofar as their views have been represented to the mission, are critical and restless and are looking for leadership outside the Department of Education.

"This unrest among teachers is not wholly due to their pitiable economic status. It arises out of a genuine desire for guidance and for the opportunity to help in building the new Japan.

"Despite control and repression, there are teachers who are thinking for themselves and who are growingly aware of the direction that Japanese education should take. Such teachers are waiting expectantly for the stimulus and encouragement of the right kind of leadership."

A MAN AND HIS RELIGION

THE missionaries are hurrying back to Japan. Theirs is an opportunity such as no other bearers of the Good Word have ever had.

It is important that they return with a new spirit, with a keener awareness of the Jap's problems, with a willingness to accept him on an equalitarian basis rather than as an inferior who must be loftily recon-verted. There has been too much aloofness in religion in Japan in the past.

Let me tell you about a remarkable man who has come to be known as the "Saint of the Orient."

When I found him at his outpost of Christianity in the hills of central Japan, he was leading two hundred men and women in singing "Nearer My God to Thee." The words were Japanese but the music was that which all mankind knows.

For forty-one years, through war and persecution, William Merrell Vories had been teaching tolerance and practical Christianity at the only mission of its kind in the world. Now that the guns had been stilled, he was happy.

The men and women who sang with him in an auditorium above the main workshop of the Omi Brotherhood were prospective Christians, employed by the Brotherhood under a plan of industrial evangelization—a plan which provided salaries based on individual needs (more pay for a man with dependents than for one with no mouths but his own to feed). It was a plan which meant free medical care in the Brotherhood's sanatorium, a complete high school education, and a work week which, unlike the usual one in Japan, recognized the Sabbath as a day of rest.

The story of Vories and his Omi Brotherhood is a story of adversity and of a man whose determination to help others made him refuse to accept death or discouragement.

He was the first American to convince the Japanese government that tuberculosis could be defeated—he himself suffered from intestinal tuberculosis—and that its victims should not be hidden away and their families shunned. He was the first to practice industrial evangelization on a nondenominational basis. He also was probably the first man ever to talk a geisha-house operator into closing his doors and opening a bicycle shop instead.

If you stop the average Japanese and ask him what

is meant by "cool-nose salve," he probably will tell you "Mentholatum." If he happens to be carrying a can of the ointment, there will be a Christian message—a bit of prayer, perhaps, or a Biblical quotation—stamped on the outside. The Brotherhood holds the rights to production of Mentholatum throughout Japan, Korea and Manchuria, and the stamping of the cans is one of its ways for spreading God's word.

Vories is now sixty-two, a gray-haired, kindly little man whose weight, now that there is more food available in his district, is at an all-time high of one hundred pounds. When he was twenty-four years old and just out of Colorado College, the doctors gave him only two years to live because of the tuberculosis which they had been unable to arrest. Vories decided to spend his remaining days helping his fellow men.

On January 10, 1905, despite the objections of his parents, he sailed for Japan. He had exactly one hundred dollars in his pocket.

"I departed," he recalls, "with a nightmarish feeling of insufficiency, of foretasted defeat. I was not representing any of the established denominations because, under my medical sentence of death, there was not enough time to train.

"Anyhow, I had some theories about evangelism which I wanted to try for myself. I felt convinced that there would be a place in a heathen land for Christianity-by-demonstration. I had a stark consciousness of the Almighty."

In Tokyo, Vories heard of a town on the main Japa-

nese island of Honshu. It was called Hachiman and was known among missionaries as an unassailable citadel of Buddhism. It was ridden with poverty and disease. Its tuberculosis rate was among the highest in Japan. Half of its one thousand inhabitants were "etai," social outcasts who bore a Buddhist stigma because their forefathers had been cattle slaughterers and leathermakers.

Vories decided he would go to Hachiman. When the train left him at the town's station, he sat down on his suitcase and wrote in his diary: "Here at last. Home-sick, cold, lonely. My head is aching. But I'm here! Will this be a Nazareth of the Orient . . . ?"

Walking down a muddy road toward the center of town, Vories met a young Buddhist priest who had once visited the United States and could speak English.

"When I told him," says Vories, "of my conviction that human nature is identical in Orient and Occident, and that racial and national characteristics are, like warpaint and clothing, only outward show, he became interested in me."

The Buddhist introduced Vories to the local school authorities. At the priest's urging, Vories was hired as an instructor in English.

For two years—two strange years which he had expected would be his last—the American taught his classes by day and then, at night, gave Bible lessons to those of his pupils who cared to come to his two-room home.

"I was so busy that I forgot about my health," he

says. "As a matter of fact, I felt better than ever before in my life. I thrived on the mountain air and the rugged existence. My loneliness for the old associations faded. I learned the importance of *thinking* as a resource and I learned about the potentialities of *prayer* as communion rather than mere supplication.

"The succeeding days of deep and enduring friendships taught me the superficiality of racial and national distinctions in the face of sympathy and human brotherhood."

But there were darker days ahead. Local Shinto priests began to grumble against Vories' Bible classes. They threatened to have the school's funds reduced unless the white foreigner was dismissed.

One day a fanatical Shintoist stormed into Vories' home waving a pistol. Calmly Vories told him to sit down. They talked. Two hours later the man departed. Before he left, he apologized to Vories and handed him the pistol.

The pressure against the Christian increased. When a new principal was appointed, he announced that Vories' contract would be allowed to lapse.

"This," declares Vories, "looked like catastrophe. I had no savings. All my funds had been going into the construction of a small Y.M.C.A. building just then being completed. But I resolved, come what might, to stay in Hachiman. There was still so much to be done."

In the local school's graduating class that year was a youth who had been boarding at Vories' home and also attending the Bible classes. The youth said he

would share his allowance of seventeen yen a month (then about \$8.50) with his friend and mentor. For six months that small amount of money bought food for them. Vories became well acquainted with dried seaweed and powdered grass.

One afternoon Vories was playing volleyball outside the "Y" with the ten boys living there when a Japanese walked up and shook hands with Vories. He said he admired the architecture of the building and wanted a similar structure for a mission to be established in Tokyo. The man left two hundred and sixty yen as a deposit. A bonanza!

Vories set to work. His knowledge of architecture consisted only of fundamentals acquired during a one-year course in college. Supplementing that, however, was the inspiration which goes with a hungry stomach.

Into his building Vories incorporated American construction principles. The building attracted considerable attention among Japanese accustomed to Oriental design. When the structure came through a sharp earthquake unscathed, Vories was offered more contracts.

Envisioning comparatively quick money with which to help him along his religious path, Vories accepted all the offers—with the stipulation that the contractors he hired must respect the dignity of labor and follow "Christian rules" to be set down by Vories. To help him in his work, Vories hired the art teacher of the school that had once dismissed him. He also employed the man who had intended to shoot him.

Vories then formally organized the Omi Mission and, as its commercial subsidiary, formed the Omi Sales Company, Ltd. With him in the venture were ten others, including the former Buddhists and State Shintoists whom he had won over to Christianity. He was the only American in the group. Other charter members were Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, and one Russian.

Omi bylaws provided that no one could work more than eight hours (most Japanese considered a twelve-hour day as standard). The Omi organizations would handle only products "positively beneficial to the consumer." Only a fair profit would be charged, regardless of what the market would bear. Fully livable wages would be paid. Advertising must never distort facts.

No one who smoked or drank would be employed. The prime purpose of all Omi activities would be to "demonstrate and apply Christianity on a common sense basis."

A challenge to Omi principles came when Vories got the architectural contract for a four thousand-yen office building to be erected by the Daido Life Insurance Company at Osaka, Japan. Nearby a similar office building was going up—with the contractor employing labor at the usual almost-slave wages and operating seven days a week. The rival contractor publicly ridiculed Vories' liberal views and labor policies.

Vories called his associates together and said that Omi could stand or fall on the results obtained on this, the group's largest job. The workers pitched in. Eight months later the building was completed. The competitors had been outdistanced by two months.

Vories became acquainted about that time with Maki Hitotsuyanagi, daughter of a Japanese nobleman who held a controlling interest in the Daido company. Maki's mother had been a Christian, baptized in 1877. Maki herself had been educated at Bryn Mawr and at the Divinity School of Yale University.

It was love at first sight for her and Vories. They were married at a double ceremony, the first being in the chapel of the Tokyo Presbyterian College (Vories had designed the chapel) and the second being in a Japanese shrine. Officiating at the ceremony was the then United States Consul in Japan, Thomas Hitchcock.

Mrs. Vories took over the girls' educational department of Omi Mission and shortly afterward, when her husband decided to go to the United States to solicit funds for expansion of the facilities, she became temporary head of the Mission.

In Chicago, Vories attended a men's missionary conference. One of the speakers was A. A. Hyde, of Wichita, Kansas, founder of the Mentholatum Company, who was devoting the latter years of his life to sponsoring "forlorn religious causes," as he sometimes described them. After Hyde had spoken, Vories ran onto the platform and shook his hand. He told him about Omi, and Hyde invited him to drop into his office the following day.

Vories was there when the office opened. He told Hyde he needed \$20,000. The manufacturer advised him to tour the country to see how much could be

raised. Vories did. He failed to get more than a few thousand dollars.

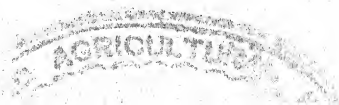
Hyde, who meanwhile had checked with friends in Japan about the Mission's activities, made up the difference. The day Vories was to set sail for Japan, Hyde visited him on the ship and gave him the right to manufacture and distribute the company's product in the Orient, the proceeds to be devoted to Mission activities.

Vories at first found the Japanese reluctant to buy Mentholatum. For one thing, the standard two-ounce packages were too large: the Japs didn't want to tie up much money in a medical product. To overcome this reluctance, Vories reduced the packages to three sizes: half-ounce, quarter-ounce, and eighth-of-an-ounce.

The Zaibatsu drug monopoly ordered Japan's 30,000 druggists not to handle the product. Vories outwitted the monopoly by putting Mentholatum on the shelves free and offering to take back every can not sold. This was a sensationally unorthodox proposition.

When an influenza epidemic swept the country, sales of the ointment—which helps to clear nasal passages—rose sharply. They continued to climb. In two years, the yearly output went to 4,000,000 packages. When Prince Nobuhito Takamatsu (Tall Pine) visited the Omi factories—there now were three factories at Hachiman—and gave written endorsement of the product, the results were phenomenal. Sales rocketed to 10,000,000 cans a year.

Mentholatum was mentioned in movie scripts and by



radio comedians much as, in America, the yo-yo became a subject for light comment. The Japanese equivalent of Ladies' Aid Societies competed for the right to sell the salve and thus strengthen church treasuries. One American missionary got a chuckle when he said the Good Samaritan would have used Mentholatum as balm if there had been any on the market.

Omi Mission prospered apace with the Mentholatum business. It now had twenty-two buildings, including a girls' school, homes for Mission leaders, and a child welfare center. There also was a wide-windowed sanatorium in a sheltered elbow formed by two small mountains at the edge of town. The sanatorium could accommodate one hundred patients. On its front lawn was a Tom Thumb golf course, the only one in Japan.

The Mission opened offices in New York and Hawaii. It established scholarships to send Japanese to American divinity schools so they might return later to Japan and join the Omi staff. Japanese began journeying to Omi on pilgrimages. They referred to Vories as the "American saint of the Orient."

Vories decided to change the name of the mission to Omi Brotherhood.

"The word 'brotherhood,'" he explained, "seemed to indicate the primitive manner and way of Jesus' way, a way in which God's fatherhood is inseparable from the brotherhood of man."

That same year, 1934, the town of Hachiman became Omi-Hachiman, the name it bears to this day. It was in 1934 also that Vories gave \$10,000 toward construc-

tion of a school to replace the one that had at one time dismissed him.

The brotherhood needed more land for expansion. Local landowners conspired against Vories to keep the prices high. Vories hired the town crier to go through the streets beating a drum and proclaiming that the Brotherhood needed land but that the owners were unfair. Down came prices. So great had resentment grown that some owners moved out of the district.

The etais, previously segregated within a Ghetto-like compound, were set free. The Brotherhood paid all back debts of the townsfolk. It built roads which were marvels in a region where roads had been nothing but holes with an occasional bit of dirt between them. The Brotherhood bought a yacht, named it *Galilee Maru*, and sent it cruising across nearby Lake Biwa, Japan's largest body of fresh water, on missionary recruitment.

An elaborate printing enterprise was started. Religious tracts—five million of them a year—and pamphlets urging an enlightened attitude toward tuberculosis victims were published. Vories made many trips to Tokyo to plead for betterment of the people's health. Committees came and looked at his sanatorium, and funds were appropriated for similar government institutions.

With the rise of militarism in Japan, a shadow crept across Vories' future. He was ordered to teach only military subjects in Brotherhood classrooms. Vories appealed to friends in the Imperial Household, and a

compromise was reached under which eighty per cent of Brotherhood products would go to the army and navy and the teaching of Christianity would be left unhindered.

Vories' enemies continued to strike at him. They said that because he was an American he must not own property in Japan. He pointed out that the property was the Brotherhood's and that the Christians of Japan owned the Brotherhood. Vories was ordered to adopt Japanese citizenship or leave the country.

"I agreed to assume citizenship," he says, "because I knew that if the properties were confiscated and I had to depart, the cause of God would suffer. In addition, my wife would have been interned."

Vories adopted his wife's family name, Hitotsuyanagi, and shortly afterward was granted Japanese citizenship.

When he continued to teach Christianity and to refuse to permit his people to work more than eight hours a day, his food ration was cut. The jingoists threatened his pupils' families and friends. He received threats through the mails. Attendance at the schools fell off. Part of the foundry and half of the hospital were commandeered by the military. Soldiers were stationed in the shops.

Pearl Harbor followed.

The Kempei Tai, the Gestapo of Japan, broke into the Vories home and carefully inspected a large metal chandelier and the chain from which it hung. They said the chandelier actually was a wireless set and tore

it down. They charged that a flagpole in the schoolyard was an aerial mast. Down it came.

When the B-29s started giving Kure a going-over, the secret police insisted that the ridgepole of the Vories house pointed in the direction of the naval base. They tore out part of the roof and camouflaged the rest.

Vories finally got orders that he would have to move. He was assigned to teach at Kyoto Imperial University. His wife, being a full-blooded Japanese, was permitted to remain at the Brotherhood. Her classes were closely supervised but not stopped. She was not allowed to mention the war or the Emperor to her pupils.

Now that the war is over, the Brotherhood's activities are back to normal. The Christian messages once again are being stamped on the Mentholatum packages. Vories works sixteen hours a day despite poor health. His sixty-two-year-old wife is constantly at his side.

Vories believes the nation is ripe for the propagation of Christianity. But he has a word of caution for the missionaries.

"Mission boards," he advises, "should not send to Japan the old-type sectarian foreigner who dispensed foreign money, lived aloof and in the large cities, and finally retired in comparative affluence. Rather they should send those who are willing to assimilate themselves, those who will come with no sense of caste or racial prejudice."

He says the people look upon the Allies as liberators rather than as conquerors.

"I like to think that Japan one day will be as I first found her," he says. "In those times she was somewhat like ancient Greece must have been.

"The old culture and universal education, the art, the emphasis on physical development and games, the quaint communities, and the thousands upon thousands of small shrines—those things typified a peaceful Japan.

"Perhaps, now that she is being given another chance, she will turn out all right."

BACKWASH OF TERRORISM

THE framework for terrorism remains. That is why the Japanese people favor an extended occupation. They know that if we stay only three or five years, as now contemplated, those Japanese who have dared to co-operate openly with us may be struck down.

Most of the confidential files of the Kempei Tai were destroyed before our troops arrived. The identity and whereabouts of thousands of members are unknown to MacArthur's investigators. The effort to run them down is long and tedious, but it must be pursued.

Shortly after General MacArthur ordered the ultra-nationalists and militarists purged from public office and from the right to seek such office, I met a young man who had been educated at Stanford. He was the son of a prosperous merchant. He was obviously a high

type Japanese, and I was impressed by his progressive thoughts about Japan's future.

I suggested that if he were sincere in his beliefs he should seek a place in government and try to see them become reality. He shook his head sadly.

"I would," he said, "if the Americans could tell us definitely how long they are to remain. As it is, I know that my very life would be in danger and my family would suffer directly or indirectly. In my own circle of friends are those who would not hesitate to do us harm."

I told him that if he would put his beliefs, and his fears, in writing I would see that they were given publicity and brought to the attention of the authorities. He said he would. Although I saw him many times thereafter, he always had some excuse. At each meeting he begged me not to write anything about him until he gave me permission. I still don't have the permission. He is still fearful.

In the Post Exchange Section of SCAP there was, prior to his discharge from service, a Lieutenant C. E. Coleman. He had been in Japan at various times before the war. Soon after his return with the U. S. Army, he went to the city of Kobe to try to find a young woman he had known prior to 1941.

He called first at the local police headquarters. They said they couldn't help him. So he pushed his way into the headquarters fileroom. There he found records compiled over the years and which should have been de-

stroyed. He discovered a complete dossier on himself. It listed every call he ever made on his young woman. It told where they had been and whom they had seen. The dossier contained the present-day address of the young woman. Lieutenant Coleman took the file, destroyed it, and went out and found his friend.

Most police departments in Japan have been reshuffled. But the shake-up has not been extensive. Usually it has merely meant bringing in a man who was chief of another town's police department. In turn, the displaced chief gets a similar assignment in another town.

The people of Japan were too long abused to forget overnight. The men still remove their hats when addressing the gendarmes. The women stand with eyes averted. Children still cower, fearing a slap. But there are signs of progress. Radio actors working on Allied educational programs no longer disguise their identities behind assumed names. Political prisoners, released from confinement, are speaking out.

The police are being restrained and told that they are servants of the people and not their masters. Under a program suggested by Lewis J. Valentine, former New York commissioner of police, women have been put in uniform and given the full power of arrest. The public, especially men, laughs at the women officers, but it is expected that gradually the desired respect will be forthcoming.

In no other country of the world have there been

exact counterparts of the Japanese patriotic societies, of which there were some two hundred. For more than seventy-five years these groups of nationalistic-minded patriots swayed the policies of statesmen by threats, intimidation, and gangsterism. Japan's long history of assassination was far from being an accident. Although without legal standing, the societies were an integral part of the political life and were so accepted by the people themselves. Their gangs of hired thugs forced prime ministers and cabinet officials to heed their wishes. For every statesman slain, probably ten others were deterred from a liberal course of action by the fear of death.

It is estimated that in prewar Japan the societies had about 650,000 active members and several million inactive ones.

"The possibility that these or similar societies may become active again in Japanese affairs cannot be disregarded," reads an intelligence report. "Their roots go deep into their country's past. Because of their single-minded philosophy, their hatred of foreigners, and their inclination toward terrorism, they would be especially dangerous.

"If the societies become active, officials of any form of government not based upon emperor worship will be in constant danger of assassination until the societies are eradicated completely."

Largest of the societies was the Black Dragon (Kokuryu Kai), known as the Fountain of Ronin Masterless Samurai Movement. It had branches in all occu-

pied countries. Its members took this oath, the memory of which must still remain:

"We are resolved to reform present systems, to plan for overseas expansion by renewing our diplomacy, to increase national prosperity by reforming internal rule, to solve questions between labor and capital by the establishment of a social policy and thereby to make firm the foundation of the imperial nation . . . We are resolved to promote the martial spirit."

The twenty-five thousand "dead men" who comprised the Kempei Tai were probably the greatest gum-shoers the world ever has known.

They spied, at one time or another, on every nation. Once they had six hundred agents in the United States. They kept suspicious watch on the German Gestapo and, in Russia, trailed the super sleuths of the OGPU.

Their slogan was "Be bright, brave and righteous." In fulfilling that slogan the little angels of righteousness delighted in such practices as burning dried mushrooms on the eyelids of suspects who were always deemed guilty until proved otherwise. It was considered a high honor to become a kempei. The path to membership was through the army. During basic training, commanding officers kept their eyes open for likely candidates. A man who had been recommended never knew about it until he was ordered to report to the great gray building in Akasaka-ku, Tokyo, for from three to five years of Kempei Tai training.

Upon entrance, the soldier became officially dead

and was given another name. Next of kin were told he had died in action and that monthly checks based on accrued pay, decorations, and bonuses would be forthcoming from the government.

Except when on field problems, such as spying on recent graduates of the school, the students were never permitted to leave the Kempei Tai headquarters. When away from their studies they were forbidden to touch intoxicants or to associate with women.

Each student specialized in the languages, customs, history, and geography of specific nations. The curriculum was extensive and detailed.

"In shadowing a suspect," the future agents were told, "it is advantageous in many cases to follow the party from the opposite side of the street. Wear rubber-soled shoes.

"If the suspect is riding in an automobile, one should always use a superior car and, at the same time, be cautious about the color, model and number plate in order to conceal identity. One should endeavor to change cars from time to time."

The boys of the Kempei Tai were supposed to know how to "supervise the circulation of sensational rumors" and to "improve the production of food and war material on the homefront."

Among kempei duties was the issuing of travel permits and the watching of railroad stations. They also could operate locomotives in emergencies.

They enforced blackouts, checked coastal defense

installations, and ran down black marketeers. During the war they were charged specifically with jurisdiction over anything and everybody associated with the military effort. Because approximately one hundred per cent of Japanese civilians were engaged in some phase of war work, virtually the entire Japanese population came under Kempei Tai control. The seventy-five thousand regular civil police gave full assistance. So did those busy demons, the Special Higher Police (Tokubetsu Kote Keisatsu), whose job it was to control "non-Japanese or obnoxious thoughts."

All police branches co-operated in preparing the "koseki" or family register which contained complete biographical information on every Japanese. Copies of the koseki had to be shown by everyone applying for a job.

Members of the Kempei Tai traveled with the armies. They never went into combat. They could be distinguished from regular troops by their nonmilitary haircuts, which enabled them to switch over to civilian guise with less likelihood of detection. In the field a kempei's power of arrest was unlimited. Although he himself might have the rank of a corporal, he could arrest, if the evidence warranted, a full general. The good Buddha help him, though, if the general subsequently was found innocent.

There was a higher echelon of the Kempei Tai called "Tokumu Kikan," which means Special Service Organization. It was formed just prior to the Russo-Japa-

nese War of 1904, when twenty Jap officers disguised themselves as Chinese bandits and went to Peking (now Peiping).

Between 1937 and 1941, the SSO became the supreme authority for all long-range intelligence activities of the Japanese government and was the commanding nucleus for Japan's worldwide intelligence network of both army and navy personnel. So hush-hush were SSO activities that any Japanese overheard mentioning it was immediately thrown into jail for an indefinite stay. Actually little was known of SSO until the Japanese were defeated in the Philippines and Burma. Records captured there disclosed that three principal methods of placing agents were employed: Sending of youths into countries as students, placing loyal Japanese in the offices of commercial firms, and assignment of SSO members to consulates and embassies.

In the United States, it is now known that such Japanese operated enterprises as the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Mitsubishi Company, and the NYK Lines were focal points for the gathering of intelligence agents. The office of the Japanese navy inspector of material, located on Madison Avenue in New York, was the clearing house for East Coast espionage studies.

After Pearl Harbor, SSO reached its zenith. When an area was overrun by Japanese forces, SSO agents who had laid the pre-invasion groundwork helped to organize the new government and to set up the "kali-bapi" or neighborhood associations which are a part of regimented Japanese living—and which, inciden-

tally, still exist in modified form in the Japanese homeland.

SSO would assign Kempei Tai members to oversee compliance with orders and to do the routine checking and torturing. Occasionally the navy's secret police, the Kaigun Tokumu Bu, would get an assignment. This was rare, however, because the Tojo military clique never fully trusted the navy.

There is a Japanese expression which says that if you want to find a secret policeman, visit a dance hall or a brothel. Not that the kempei were patrons—it was merely that in the first chapter of a training manual entitled *Collection of Information and Methods*, was the advice:

“Persons with pro-enemy tendencies enjoy pleasures. Sake loosens their tongues. Girls are good listeners. Talk with girls for clues.”

Toward the end of the war, the kempei partially defeated their own purposes by closing Japan's 24,162 amusement places and prohibiting dancing, which was not in keeping with the national emergency since it “sullied womanhood, made students frivolous and exerted a very detrimental influence on public morals.”

The Kempei Tai's unpopularity reached new heights when it issued an order against dating by Japanese girls and boys.

Before a kempei could marry, his prospective wife's background was investigated, usually by the wife of another military policeman.

Kempei Tai members distrusted one another. It was

an order that they do so. Here's how the order read: "Do not believe hastily the reports of secret agents and liaison men. Their movements must be strictly supervised and their intelligence reports investigated. Employ two or more agents separately on the same job whenever possible. When all reports have been received, conduct at once various inquiries to ascertain the truth of their reports."

Kempei Tai headquarters used to make extensive use of pigeons for carrying messages, especially between Tokyo and the Korean military police known as Kempei Ho. One day toward the end of the war, when food had become scarce, somebody raided the rooftop lofts in Tokyo and stole every pigeon. You can imagine the excitement that prevailed.

Immediately after the surrender the Kempei Tai was ordered to assist the Allies in handling the demobilization of the Japanese armed forces. Then it was told to go out of business. In a message to his kempei, Jho Imura said tearfully:

"You should obey the imperial (surrender) rescript with all your heart. You should endure and conquer the unbearable pains and hard trials and should accomplish your duties steadily and faithfully, quite reckless of being covered with dirt or soiled with mud."

Today on the street corners of Tokyo one sees smiling Japanese policewomen directing traffic. Not everybody takes them seriously. The memory of the Kempei Tai is too fresh.

THE STORY OF A GIRL who knew the terror indicates what life was like in wartime Japan. The girl is Dorothy Murayama, a Nisei, born in Marysville, California, twenty-three years ago. In 1940 her parents sent her to Japan for a year of schooling. For Dorothy, it looked like an adventure. And it was. She was accepted in the best Japanese-American circles, and she found the country of her forebears to be delightful.

"It was a pleasant and easy life," recalls Dorothy. "There was little thought of strife or of worry and no realization of the storm that was gathering.

"When the news came that Japan and the United States were at war, I wept. I told my Japanese acquaintances there could be no hope of victory, that America was strong and powerful. They laughed at me—and shunned me. The family with whom I lived turned me out. They telephoned the police and I was arrested.

"For ten hours I was kept in a windowless cell. I was given no food. The cell was cold and wet.

"Then the guards came and took me to a room with bright lights.

"I was asked about the United States and about its ships and planes.

"They wouldn't believe anything I told them. I was pushed from one man to another. They pulled my hair and slapped me. After four hours of this, they put me back in the cell.

"The next day they turned me loose.

"For two days I wandered the streets, hungry. Then I went to the Swedish legation and asked for help.

"The people at the legation fed me and said I could have a job as stenographer. But they refused to let me sleep there. I walked the dark streets until I found an empty factory. I slept on the floor.

"One night as I walked from the legation to the factory, two men stepped from behind a tree and grabbed me. They said they were the police and that if I wanted to live I would have to be a spy for them and get information at the legation. I said I would.

"The next day I told the legation people what had happened. They said to go ahead and act as though I were spying and in that way I should escape harm.

"So I proceeded to give the Japs false information. The two men who had accosted me would meet me in the dark and listen to what I had to say. They would write it down and tell me to get more.

"Once I was stopped by a police inspector who was drunk. He said he wanted to see if I had a radio in my living quarters. He threatened to kill me if I resisted. He dragged me to the factory.

"We were going up the stairs when the sirens sounded and the fire bombs started falling. The inspector released me and ran from the building. He was killed."

A FANATICAL KEMPEI TAI AGENT tortured and apparently murdered twenty-four B-29 fliers after the war had ended. When the American Army demanded his ar-

rest, a crematory urn said to contain his ashes was delivered instead. But the ashes were not those of the suspect.

That is the story told at Kobe by Marcel Pellerien, a French exporter who occupied a cell alongside that of the aviators in Osaka, fifty miles north of Kobe. Pellerien was arrested in March, 1945. The Kempei Tai said he had lighted signal flares to guide the B-29s which were laying waste to the port of Kobe and the industrial areas of Osaka.

To torture him, the Japanese made him remove his clothes. They made him lie on a table under bright lights. They thrust a rubber hose into his mouth and pumped him full of filthy water. Then they brought in ten Japanese girls. As the girls watched, the Kempei Tai jabbed the Frenchman with burning candles. The purpose of this was to discredit the white race in the eyes of the Japanese women.

One day after two B-29s had fallen into the streets of Osaka there was a clamor outside the city jail. A crowd was attempting to drag twenty-five Americans from their guards and lynch them. Once inside the jail, the fliers were immediately subjected to torture. Pellerien could hear them cry out in pain night and day.

One man, Pellerien says, was made to kneel on the concrete floor for eighteen hours with a bucket of water balanced on his head. When he collapsed, a Kempei named Mori, who directed the torture, cut off the American's head.

That left twenty-four Americans.

On August 17, two days after the surrender was announced, Pellerien says he saw twenty-four sheet-wrapped bodies carried out. After that, there were no further noises from the large cell next to his.

When Pellerien told his story to Army intelligence agents and they ordered the Japanese police to find Mori, the urn was delivered with word that Mori had died a few days previously. Two months later the intelligence men arrested Mori on a farm near Osaka. Pellerien was brought in to identify him. When he saw Mori, he tried to choke him to death but was restrained. Later Mori confessed. He is now in custody and Pellerien will be the chief witness against him.

"Whenever I hear anyone advocating a soft peace for the Japanese," he says, "I think back to those days in Osaka—and to the sight of those American bodies being carried out."

THIRTY THOUSAND JAPANESE are helping the occupation by spying on their neighbors. It is a volunteer effort which has enabled the detection of contraband worth an estimated \$80,000,000. In addition, the spies have led Army search teams to scores of ammunition caves not reported in inventories turned over after the surrender. It was a tip from one of the "kanchio" that led to discovery of the Tokyo Bay bullion trove last winter.

A second lieutenant, Eugene J. Stevens, is responsible for getting the vigilantes organized. Stevens, who had worked behind Jap lines with Filipino guerillas in

Luzon, was in his office at the 32d Military Government headquarters one afternoon when an apologetic little Jap bowed his way in. The visitor was Narihiro Tokugawa, president of what he called the Citizens' Party. Although he was graduated from Oxford in 1926, he spoke no English. He told Stevens that he knew of many Japanese who were hoarding foodstuffs, silk, gasoline, and Army and Navy quartermaster stocks. Such people, Tokugawa said, were harming their country, because the concealed goods would otherwise be distributed among those who needed them.

Stevens was dubious. He didn't believe that Japs would carry tales about other Japs. So he assigned a Korean to check on Tokugawa's record. The Korean found that Tokugawa had no military record and had been president of a small manufacturing company. Stevens decided to give Tokugawa and the thirty thousand members of his Citizens' Party a chance.

The first tip they supplied resulted in the confiscation of one hundred forty-three Japanese navy trucks which an enterprising former officer had decided were just what he needed to start a trucking company. Another clue led to a cellar where two hundred blankets were piled. Those blankets were turned over to the Japanese government which in turn gave them to a Catholic hospital which had been stripped of equipment by the military during the war.

A cave filled with mortar shells that were fully charged and ready for firing was the next discovery. By this time Stevens was convinced. Reports started com-

ing in from all over Japan. Sometimes Stevens gave the information to the Counter-Intelligence Corps, sometimes he acted on them himself.

Recently he gave permission to Tokugawa, who describes himself as "search co-operator," to impound hoarded stocks by attaching posters warning that they must not be moved until inventory has been made by the Americans. "These are leftover goods from termination of war," the notices say.

To make certain the "kanchio" don't get out of hand and perhaps help themselves to the goods, Stevens uses Koreans—who hate Japanese—as countercheckers. To watch both Koreans and Japs, he uses Chinese, who hate both.

FAILURE AT ARMS

A MERICAN correspondents in Japan one day came upon a warehouse filled with bottles of Japanese whisky. The bottles were labeled, "For kamikaze pilots only—do not drink until approaching target." The liquor was intended for the 12,000 or so suicide pilots who were to hurl themselves at the invasion fleets off the Hyushu plain and the harbor of Tokyo.

The fact that the one-way trippers needed liquid reinforcement was perhaps understandable. But what remains almost beyond comprehension is the black and bitter rivalry that existed between the army and navy air forces. The results of that rivalry, scrawled across the epitaph of the air forces, should help to underwrite the cause of those who seek consolidation of America's own fighting services.

When the surrender came, the Japanese had 12,684

aircraft of all types in the home islands. Orders had gone out to all pilots to crash-dive the invasion ships. All aircraft were to be expended. Fighters who flew cover were to take along only enough gas to get them to the targets. Aerial combat was to be specifically avoided. The ships were the objectives. Nothing else mattered.

Of the 12,684 planes in the homeland, however, only 4,000 were fully operable. The remaining 8,684—of which 4,000 were frontline combat craft—were grounded for either lack of gas or replacement parts.

Disunity of command was responsible in large measure for the failure to have more aircraft ready for pilots who were willing to destroy themselves. That same disunity caused such conditions as these:

1. Ammunition for army planes would not fit the guns of navy aircraft.

2. Each service had its own radio wavelength. This prevented communication between army and navy planes.

3. Most army radar equipment could not identify navy planes from those of the enemy.

4. Army fliers hesitated to take over-water missions because if they fell into the sea the navy would not rescue them.

5. Factories making planes for both services usually had separate construction facilities. Anyone trespassing the dividing lines was subject to arrest.

6. The Kempei Tai arrested hundreds of navy men caught sabotaging army aircraft and ground equipment.

Part of the dreary story of inter-service competition comes from Captain Ijn Genda, who was attached to Imperial Navy Headquarters. When interviewed by American intelligence officers, he wept as he recounted his experiences.

"The whole Japanese air organization was split into three separate divisions," he said. "We had the army, navy and what was known as the government. The only one who could coordinate the three was the emperor.

"Had there been someone between the emperor and the two branches of service, things would have gone much better. As it was, each branch tried to carry out operations of its own. We never could convince the army of the importance of control of the seas."

Genda disclosed that in the desperate campaign to save Okinawa 920 planes were used (673 from Kyushu and 250 from the island of Formosa). He estimated that forty per cent of the kamikaze attacks were successful.

Genda denied that women were ever used as pilots. Told that one Jap flier had been found with his feet lashed to the control pedals, Genda said the flier must have done it on his own initiative. Toward the end, a majority of pilots had less than one hundred hours' flying experience. Even pilots who flew cover rarely had more than three hundred hours' experience.

Genda said that when the forces had to resort to suicide tactics, the Japanese public knew it was a confession of the failure of tactical weapons. Morale slumped.

Reports made to Fifth Air Force investigators indi-

cate that at the time of Pearl Harbor the Japanese had only 1,570 combat aircraft, of which a mere seventy were in Japan proper. In French Indo-China, however, there were 670. By mid-1943, there were 2,640 planes in fighting condition; of these, 600 were guarding the homeland. By July, 1945, production was averaging 1,000 aircraft per month.

The Japanese say they suffered 23,835 aircraft losses during the war but that only 8,420 were due to actual combat. In evaluating all these figures, however, it must be remembered that they come from the Japanese themselves—and the Nips prefer to have us believe that they drove us back in the early days without much effort.

At the close of the war, the Japs did not have a single jet-propelled aircraft. The Germans, who had promised so much, had supplied blueprints for only one rocket ship, a K1200 patterned after the ME 163. It was completed in July, 1945, but crashed from twenty thousand feet. Ten planes were to be ready for combat in August, when the surrender came. There is no record of German technicians having ever been assigned to Japanese factories by the Nazi fatherland.

The navy had a complete design for a six-engined bomber, called the Fugaku, which would have been used against the West Coast of the United States. The ship would have weighed 220,000 pounds and carried a crew of seven. A 42,600-foot service altitude was planned. The Fugaku, because of material shortages, never got beyond the model stage.

Among other planes with which the Japanese were

experimenting was the Shinden (J7W1), an experimental pusher-type fighter resembling the U. S. Army Ascender. The Shinden was built around an eighteen-cylinder, air-cooled, twin-row engine which supplied 2,100 horsepower at take off. The ship had a six-bladed prop, a service ceiling of 39,400 feet, and a rated speed of four hundred miles an hour. The Shinden suffered from propeller blade-flutter and the Japanese were striving to produce a special hollow steel prop of the Curtiss type when the surrender came.

When the occupation forces moved into Japan, they found six experimental models of a two-engined fighter having the same general configuration as the U. S. Navy's Grumman F7F. The Japs called it the KI-108 and said it could do five hundred m.p.h. at nine thousand feet. It was desired to send one plane, found at Maebashi, back to the United States for testing. So a Jap pilot was ordered to fly the ship to the Yokosuka Naval Base for shipment. He tried to refuse, because, he said, the plane was a killer. He finally took off, however. On the trip, the plane outdistanced a Grumman F6F escort.

In Japan, aircraft engine production always lagged behind a safe ratio to airframe output. Bombing attacks on engine plants were therefore doubly effective. Approximately two-thirds of the engines produced were ruined or lost before reaching combat. Poor maintenance and installation, plus normal ferrying losses, were the reasons.

Earthquakes in December, 1944, and January, 1945,

jarred production machinery out of line and seriously impeded production. In July, 1945, it was estimated that aircraft factories were able to meet only thirty-five per cent of their requirements.

It is estimated that twenty or thirty per cent of engine components and fifty to sixty per cent of airplane parts were obtained on sub-contracts. Many of the sub-contractors were small neighborhood factories, which in turn contracted with individual households. Today, broken and rusted, drill presses stand in the ruins of thousands of Tokyo homes which the B-29s burned.

To help defend their "sacred soil," the Japs had developed a heat-homing bomb called the Kego. It was designed to dive down warship stacks before exploding. Its effective range was six miles. Production was about to begin when a fire raid ruined the factory.

Another projected device was an anti-personnel bomb which would, it was hoped, seek out and chase a man for three hundred thirty feet before exploding against his body.

When Hirohito decided to call it quits, the moving of aircraft factories to underground sites was well under way. Near the city of Hachieji, for instance, Nakajima was boring six tunnels five hundred yards long and six others that were three hundred fifty yards in length each.

At the great technical arsenal in Yokosuka, where operations resembled those at the Philadelphia Naval Air Material Center, more than twenty thousand per-

sons were employed in more than ten miles of tunnels. Approximately eighty per cent of the machine shops and fifty per cent of baka sheetmetal work went underground in the summer of 1945.

Among the men who run the U. S. Fifth Air Force, which is helping to occupy Japan, is Brigadier General Walter Agee, chief of staff. He has a wealth of data to indicate that American air power caused the Japanese to crumble. Agee has the notes on an interview with General Masakazu Kawabe, commanding general of the Japanese Army Air Force. "It is my opinion," said Kawabe, "that our losses in the sky cost us the war."

Said Rear Admiral Toshitane Takata, deputy chief of military affairs in the Navy Ministry: "Of the three sources—air, sea and land—air by a wide margin contributed most to the defeat of Japan."

Lieutenant General Saburo Endo, chief of the Ministry of Munitions aircraft bureau: "The cutting of supply lines, the bottling of Japanese shipping, and destruction of industry from the air so reduced the Japanese capacity to wage war that we were ready to sue for peace before the atomic bomb was dropped."

The air accident rate ran high in both army and navy flying branches, but no information regarding crack-ups was ever released to the press and public. For many years before the war, Japanese parents considered flying too risky and, whenever possible, dissuaded their sons from becoming pilots. But with the beginning of hostilities, all this changed. Flying became just another

hazard incidental to war, and also a patriotic duty. Sons who entered the air service did so with the permission of their parents.

Although Jap pilots had oxygen, parachutes, flak suits, life-rafts, and survival equipment, little attempt was made to train airmen in the proper use of the devices. Pilots were under standing orders to stay with their ships, and presumably would have preferred to ditch airplanes rather than bail out, but no special instruction regarding ditching was provided. Navy fighters were equipped with shoulder harness but many pilots failed to use it. No studies were made to determine what effect this had on casualties in ditchings and forced landings.

On August 15, the day of the surrender, there were 553,537 men in the army and air forces. By December 15, all had been discharged. Today the smoke still rises from the two hundred thirty-three airfields in Japan as American occupation forces put the final torch to the wreckage of what once was—even despite its inner weaknesses—a terrifyingly strong striking force.

LEST WE FORGET

AS WE deal with the new Japan, we must not—we cannot—forget that this was the people that begot the fiends, the cannibals, and the sadists who ravaged and plundered and murdered.

On a Japanese prisoner taken at Salamaua was found a diary with a chapter headed “Blood Carnival.” Read it—and remember . . .

“March 29, 1943. Four of us assembled in front of headquarters. One of the two crewmen from the Australian plane shot down on the 18th has been returned to our garrison after some days of questioning elsewhere.

“Our Commander, when he came to the observation station today, told us personally that, in accordance with the compassionate sentiments of Japanese Bushido, he was going to kill the prisoner himself with his favor-

its sword. So we gathered to observe this. After we had waited a little more than ten minutes the truck came along.

"The prisoner, who is at the side of the guard house, is given his last drink of water. The chief medical officer and the headquarters platoon commander come out of the officers' mess wearing their military swords. The time has come, so the prisoner, with his arms bound and his long hair now cropped very close, totters forward. He probably suspects what is afoot; but he is more composed than I thought he would be. Without more ado, he is put on the truck and we set out for our destination.

"I have a seat next to the chief medical officer. About ten guards ride with us. To the pleasant rumble of the engine, we run swiftly along the road in the growing twilight. The glowing sun has set behind the western hills, gigantic clouds rise before us, and the dusk is falling all around. It will not be long now. As I picture the scene we are about to witness my heart beats faster.

"I glance at the prisoner. He has probably resigned himself to his fate. As though saying farewell to the world, as he sits in the truck he looks about, at the hills, at the sea, and he seems deep in thought. I feel a surge of pity and turn my eyes away.

"As we passed by the place where last year our lamented Han was cremated my friend must have been thinking about him too, for he remarked, 'It's a long time since we were here last.' It certainly is a long time. We could see the place every day from the observation

post, but never got a chance to come. It is nearly a year since Han was cremated. I was moved in spite of myself, and as I passed the place I closed my eyes and prayed for the repose of Shimizu's soul.

"The truck runs along the sea shore. We have left the navy guard sector behind us and now come into the army guard sector. Here and there we see sentries in the grassy fields, and I thank them in my heart for their toil as we drive on. They must have got it in the bombing the night before last—there are great holes by the side of the road, full of water from the rain. In a little over twenty minutes we arrive at our destination and all get off.

"The commander stands up and says to the prisoner, 'We are now going to kill you.' When he tells the prisoner that in accordance with Japanese Bushido he would be killed with a Japanese sword, and that he would have two or three minutes' grace, he listens with bowed head. The prisoner says a few words in a low voice. Apparently he wants to be killed with one stroke of the sword. I hear him say the word 'One.' The commander becomes tense and his face stiffens as he replies 'yes.'

"Now the time has come and the prisoner is made to kneel on the bank of a bomb crater filled with water. He is apparently resigned. The precaution is taken of surrounding him with guards with fixed bayonets, but he remains calm. He even stretches out his neck and is very brave. When I put myself in the prisoner's place and

think that in one more minute it will be good-bye to this world, although the daily bombings have filled me with hate, ordinary human feelings make me pity him.

"The commander has drawn his favorite sword. It is the famous Osamune sword which he showed us at the observation post. It glitters in the light and sends a cold shiver down my spine. He taps the prisoner's neck lightly with the back of the blade, then raises it above his head with both arms and brings it down with a sweep.

"I have been standing with my muscles tensed, but in that moment I closed my eyes.

"Ssh! It must be the sound of blood spurting from the arteries. With a sound as though something watery had been cut, the body falls forward. It is amazing—he had killed him with one stroke. The onlookers crowd forward. The head, detached from the trunk, rolls in front of it. SSH! SSH! The dark blood gushes out.

"All is over. The head is dead white, like a doll. The savageness which I felt only a little while ago is gone, and now I feel nothing but the true compassion of Japanese Bushido.

"A senior corporal laughs loudly, 'Well, he will enter Nirvana now!'

"Then a superior seaman of the medical unit takes the chief medical officer's Japanese sword and, intent on paying off old scores, turns the headless body over on its back, and cuts the abdomen open with one clean stroke. They are thick-skinned these Keto"—"hairy for-

eigner," common term of opprobrium for a white man—"even the skin of their bellies is thick. Not a drop of blood comes out of the body. It is pushed over into the crater at once and is buried.

"Now the wind blows mournfully and I see the scene again in my mind's eye. We get on to the truck again and start back. It is dark now. We get off in front of headquarters. I say good-bye to the commander and climb up the hill with my friend. This will be something to remember all my life. If ever I get back alive it will make a good story to tell, so I have written it down to the sound of midnight waves."



THE CONQUEROR'S CREED

***B**ECAUSE of its historical significance in explaining the purposes and accomplishments of the occupation, there follows herewith an address by General MacArthur to the four-power Allied Council for Japan.*

I welcome you with utmost cordiality in the earnest anticipation that, in keeping with the friendship which has long existed among the several peoples represented here, your deliberations throughout shall be governed by goodwill, mutual understanding and broad tolerance. As the functions of the Council will be advisory and consultative, it will not divide the heavy administrative responsibility of the Supreme Commander as the sole executive authority for the Allied Powers in Japan, but it will make available to him the several viewpoints of its members on questions of policy and action. I hope

it will prove to be a valuable factor in the future solution of many problems.

To assist the Council in the fulfillment of its objectives, instructions have been given that copies of all directives issued to the Japanese Government shall promptly be furnished it, together with such background information as may be appropriate to permit a full understanding thereof, or as the Council may specifically desire. Matters of substance will normally be laid before it prior to action.

Any advice the Council as a whole or any of its individual members may believe would be helpful to the Supreme Commander will at all times be most welcome, and given the most thorough consideration. As my manifold other duties will not normally permit me to sit with the Council, I have designated a deputy to act as Chairman thereof.

To promote full public confidence in its aims and purposes, it is advisable that all formal sessions be open to such of the public and press as existing facilities will accommodate. There is nothing in its deliberations to conceal even from the eyes and ears of our fallen adversary. Through such a practice of pure democracy in the discharge of its responsibilities, the world will know that the Council's deliberations lead to no secret devices, undertakings or commitments. The suspicion, the distrust, and the hatred so often engendered by the veil of secrecy will thus be avoided—and in the undimmed light of public scrutiny we will therefore invite full confidence in the

sincerity of our purposes and the rectitude of our aims. As Supreme Commander I can assure you that I entertain no fear that such an opportunity for public discussion will have the slightest adverse effect upon the discharge of my executive responsibilities.

The purposes of the occupation are now well advanced. Japanese forces on the home islands have been disarmed, demobilized, and returned to their homes, and in other respects the Japanese war machine has been neutralized. Dispositions have been taken to eliminate for all time the authority and influence of those who misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, and to establish in Japan a new order of peace, security, and justice; to secure for the Japanese people freedom of speech, religion and thought, and respect for the fundamental human rights; to remove all obstacles to the strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people; and to readjust the Japanese industrial economy to produce for the Japanese people after reparations an equitable standard of life. All of these dispositions in implementation of principles outlined in the Potsdam Declaration have already been taken.

My policy in the administration of Japan for the Allied Powers has been to act as far as possible through existing instrumentalities of the Japanese Government. The soundness of this policy has been unmistakably reflected in the progress of the occupation. I have sought, while destroying Japan's war potential and exacting just penalties for past wrongs, to build a future for the

people of Japan based upon considerations of realism and justice. Without yielding firmness, it has been my purpose to avoid oppressive or arbitrary action, and to infuse into the hearts and minds of the Japanese people principles of liberty and right heretofore unknown to them.

As success of the Allied occupational purposes is dependent upon leadership as well as upon direction—as only through the firm application of those very principles which we ourselves defended on the battlefield may we, as victors, become architects of a new Japan, a Japan reoriented to peace, security and justice—this policy shall continue to be the aim of my administration and should serve to guide the Council throughout its deliberations.

Were it otherwise—were we but to insure the thoroughness of Japan's defeat, then leave her prostrate in the ashes of total collapse—history would point to a task poorly done and but partially complete. It is equally for us now to guide her people to rededicate themselves to higher principles, ideals and purposes, to help them rise to the full measure of new and loftier standards of social and political morality—that they firmly may meet the challenge to future utility in the service of mankind. In the consummation of this high purpose, we, as victors in the administration of the vanquished, stand charged to proceed in that full unity of purpose which characterized our common effort in the war just won.

It is no small hindrance that in reaching this goal there are those throughout the Allied world who lift

their voices in sharp and ill-conceived criticism of our occupational policies; some, honestly inspired but with no knowledge of conditions existing in this far distant land, who would see applied here wholly unadaptable principles and methods; some who, lacking both vision and patience, see but the end desired, being blind to the means without which that end is impossible of achievement; some who opposed the guiding principles adopted at Potsdam and who, unwilling now to join in full unity of purpose, seek to foment dissatisfaction in others to the end that such principles be reshaped to their will, or their implementation be impeded; some who, from selfish motives, would exploit as slaves a thoroughly defeated nation and people, thus serving the identical philosophy of evil which Allied soldiers opposed unto death on the battlefields of the world; and some who, for various reasons, are out of sympathy with Allied policies and aims, and seek to sabotage success of the occupation.

To the peoples of the Allied world I would say, in answer to such criticism, that history has given us no precedent of success in a similar military occupation of a defeated nation—anywhere, at any time—to serve as a guide to assist in reshaping Japan to meet the aims to which we are here solemnly committed. It thus has become necessary for us, in meeting that challenge of the past, to devise new guiding principles and new methods by which to solve the problems of the future. To serve this purpose, a wise and far-seeing policy was formulated at Potsdam, fully attuned to the noble ideals, prin-

ciples and standards in defense of which the Allied Nations firmly and in complete unity took their stand. Through implementation of that policy lies best hope that the errors responsible for the failures of past occupations may be avoided in the task to which we are here no less inseparably dedicated. The road ahead is not an easy one, but it is my firm purpose that, within the underlying precepts governing occupational policy, the objective be reached. I fervently hope that each member of the Council will exert his best effort in support of that purpose, eliminating insofar as possible misconceptions which but sow the seeds of disunity and serve the cause of failure.

A new constitution has been evolved, patterned along liberal and democratic lines . . . This proposed new constitution is being widely and freely discussed by the Japanese people who show a healthy disposition to subject all provisions thereof to critical public examination through the media of press and radio. Regardless of changes in form and detail which may well result from this open forum of public debate and the ultimate consideration of the National Diet and the Allied Powers, if the underlying principles remain substantially the same when finally adopted, the instrument will provide the structure that will permit development in Japan of a democratic state, fully conforming to existing Allied policy. If we are firmly to implement that policy, it is incumbent upon us to encourage and assist the Japanese people in reshaping their lives and institutions thereunder—scrupulously avoiding superficial and cynical

criticism of motive or purpose and destructive influence upon their will to do just that which it is our firm purpose they shall do.

While the drafting of an acceptable constitution does not of itself establish democracy, which is a thing largely of the spirit, it does provide the design for both structural and spiritual changes in the national life, without which so fundamental a reform would be utterly impossible. With it there is hope for accomplishing that reshaping of national and individual character essential to form the strong foundation of popular support upon which a democratic state must rest. It is yet too early to predict with any degree of certainty how deeply rooted the tenets embodied in such a reform will become in the social and political life of Japan. It is inescapably true, however, that the course thus charted to the fulfillment of Allied policy in the democratization of Japan is the only course that points to success—that the degree of that success will depend in large measure upon the patience and encouragement with which we ourselves are willing to endow the test.

While all provisions of this proposed new constitution are of importance, and lead individually and collectively to the desired end as expressed at Potsdam, I desire especially to mention that provision dealing with the renunciation of war. Such renunciation, while in some respects a logical sequence to the destruction of Japan's war-making potential, goes yet further in its surrender of the sovereign right of resort to arms in the

international sphere. Japan thereby proclaims her faith in a society of nations governed by just, tolerant and effective rules of universal social and political morality and entrusts its national integrity thereto.

The cynic may view such action as demonstrating but a childlike faith in a visionary ideal, but the realist will see in it far deeper significance. He will understand that in the evolution of society it became necessary for man to surrender certain rights theretofore inherent in himself in order that states might be created vested with sovereign power over the individuals who collectively formed them—that foremost of these inherent rights thus surrendered to the body politic was man's right to resort to force in the settlement of disputes with his neighbor.

With the advance of society, groups or states federated together through the identical process of surrendering inherent rights and submitting to a sovereign power representing the collective will. In such manner was formed the United States of America, through the renunciation of rights inherent in individual states in order to compose the national sovereignty; the State first recognized and stood guarantor for the integrity of the individual, and thereafter the nation recognized and stood guarantor for the integrity of the State.

The proposal of the Japanese Government—a government over people who now have reason to know the complete failure of war as an instrument of national policy—in effect but recognizes one further step in the

evolution of mankind, under which nations would develop, for mutual protection against war, a yet higher law of international social and political morality.

Whether the world is yet ready for so forward a step in the relations between nations, or whether another and totally destructive war—a war involving almost mass extermination—must first be waged, is the great issue which now confronts all peoples.

There can be no doubt that both the progress and survival of civilization is dependent upon the timely recognition of the imperative need for some such forward step—is dependent upon the realization by all nations of the utter futility of force as an arbiter of international issues—is dependent upon elimination from international relations of the suspicion, distrust and hatred which inevitably result from power threats, boundary violations, secret maneuvering, and violence to public morality—is dependent upon a world leadership which does not lack the moral courage to implement the will of the masses who abhor war and upon whom falls the main weight of war's frightful carnage—and finally is dependent upon the development of a world order which will permit a nation such as Japan safely to entrust its national integrity to just such a higher law to which all peoples on earth shall have rendered themselves subservient. Therein lies the road to lasting peace.

I therefore commend Japan's proposal for the renunciation of war to the thoughtful consideration of all of the peoples of the world. It points the way—the only way. The United Nations Organization, admirable as is

its purpose, great and noble as are its aims, can only survive to achieve that purpose and those aims if it accomplishes as to all nations just what Japan proposes unilaterally to accomplish through this constitution—abolish war as a sovereign right.

Such a renunciation must be simultaneous and universal. It must be all or none. It must be effected by action—not words alone—and open, undisguised action which invites the confidence of all men who would serve the cause of peace. The present instrumentality to enforce its will—the pooled armed might of its component nations—can at best be but a temporary expedient so long as nations still recognize as co-existent the sovereign right of belligerency.

No thoughtful man will fail to recognize that with the development of modern science another war may blast mankind to perdition—but still we hesitate—still we cannot, despite the yawning abyss at our very feet, unshackle ourselves from the past. Therein lies the childlike faith in the future—a faith that, as in the past, the world can somehow manage to survive yet another universal conflict. In that irresponsible faith lies civilization's gravest peril.

We sit here in council, representatives of the military might and moral strength of the modern world. It is our responsibility and our purpose to consolidate and strengthen the peace won at the staggering cost of war. As we thus deal in the international sphere with some of the decisive problems I have but briefly outlined, it is incumbent upon us to proceed on so high a level of uni-

versal service that we may do our full part toward restoring the rule of reason to international thought and action. Thereby may we further universal adherence to that higher law in the preservation of peace which finds full and unqualified approval in the enlightened conscience of all of the peoples of the earth.